

Maclean's

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REVOLT

STARTING OVER

—
HOW THE
TORIES WON

—
A REVEALING
POLL PROFILES
THE VOTERS



MILA AND BRIAN MULRONEY





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Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE DECEMBER 5 1988 VOL 151 NO 50

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CANADA/COVER

STARTING OVER

As the Liberals' dream of power fades in the last days of the campaign, one of John Turner's aides asked former prime minister Pierre Trudeau to intervene in the fierce battle over free trade. Maclean's behind-the-scenes report on the hard-fought election campaign reveals party strategies—and blunders—that resulted in a majority for Brian Mulroney's Conservatives.

— 12



SCIENCE

LIFE AFTER DEATH

Dinosaur toys and games, as well as dinosaur movies and television shows, have become enormously popular with children and adults. In the meantime, scientists are still trying to find out why the creatures that once dominated the planet died out millions of years ago.

— 37



BUSINESS

SILKY NEW PROFITS

The lingerie industry is in the midst of an unprecedented boom. Canadian designers are gaining an international reputation for style and quality, and consumers are demonstrating a new enthusiasm for sophisticated lace, from silk robes with handmade details to high-fashion bras.

— 42





The Polls That Count

This week, *Maclean's* features a 25-page Special Report on the making of an election victory and the future of the nation under the second term of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government. Assistant Managing Editor Robert Marshall and National Editor Ron Corbett organized and supervised the package. Senior Writer Mary Jowigan and Ottawa Bureau Correspondent Mary Macleane provide a revealing, behind-the-scenes account of how the anti-sewer campaign developed up to voting day on Nov. 23. Ottawa Bureau Chief Ross Laver and Bureau Correspondents Bruce Willett and Marc Clark, Associate Editor Paul Kralik and others present an extensive look at Mulroney's new agenda, the record of his government's record on the many other aspects of the national scene.

At the same time, Executive Editor Carl Molloy outlines the national results of the most extensive post-election survey ever undertaken in Canada. *Maclean's* commissioned Demos Research Ltd. to survey a broad national sample to determine the voters' attitudes and to interview such issues as why Canadians voted the way they did, and when they made up their minds. Molloy says the preliminary results suggest that the complete poll will provide a compelling profile of Canadians. For one thing, the preliminary results suggest that most voters made up their minds during the campaign. And a substantial majority said they now love the new trade. The full results will be available in the magazine that appears during Christmas week.

For Jowigan and Macleane, this week's issue marks career milestones. Jowigan is taking a few months off to attend to personal matters—one of which is getting married—and Macleane is preparing to become Washington Bureau Correspondent. Finally, their election coverage reflected the confidence that they have brought to all of their reporting.

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's

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Let's assume we're in a record cold snap. Let's further assume it's snowed a ton. Now you'll need a very strong back. Or a very strong snowthrower.

A Honda snowthrower.

To start with, Honda engines are built with cast iron cylinder



Honda snowthrowers not only have the power to move up to 38 tons of snow an hour, they also have features that help make the job easy.

Most models have a dual-surge system with high speed blower and slow speed auger

HERE'S THE ONE THING THAT MAKES US TOUGHER THAN A CANADIAN WINTER.

sleeves and ball-bearing-mounted crankshafts so they run hard and last long.

The overhead valve design on most models uses approximately 30 percent less fuel and 50 percent less oil than comparable side-valve engines.

Honda engines are four-stroke, not two, which means they run clean with good fuel efficiency. They range in power from 3.5 to 8 horsepower.

for excellent efficiency.

You can get dual track drive for sure traction.

And every Honda snowthrower has a safety control lever which quickly shuts down the auger unless the lever is held down by the operator. This winter will be tough enough even with a Honda.

Without one, it will be

positively

human.





*Maxima SE features: disk brakes,
2 speed-sensitive quartz halogen
fog lamps and rear spoiler*

Now you don't have to give up your first born to own a sports car.

As a proud parent, you expect to make certain sacrifices for your children. Your Hawaiian vacation for their higher education. Your new set of golf clubs for their new set of braces. Your really great sports car for a really sedate family sedan.

But there are times after all, when as a parent you just have to put your foot down. Which is exactly the idea behind the new Nissan Maxima.

Put your foot down and you'll discover its 3-litre, multi-port, fuel-injected V6. Churning out 181 lb-ft of torque, this modified Z-car engine propels the Maxima from 0-60 mph faster than a BMW 635CSi*.

And the Maxima SE has sports car stopping power

With standard 4-wheel disc brakes and our advanced "Anti-lock Braking System", for straighter, shorter stops, even on wet roads.

While on winding roads, a 4-wheel independent suspension, with front and rear stabilizer bars gives you the kind of cornering you just don't find in a regular sedan.

And, on top of all that, we've given this sports car something else you'll appreciate: the unique ability to take care of itself.

Each and every Maxima comes with The Maxima Plus program. That means you'll have virtually no maintenance, parts or labour costs for a full 3 years or 60,000 kms.

See your Nissan dealer for additional details.

Of course, if you had a sports car with this much built-in performance and security, you'd want to take everyone you know for a ride. Now the great thing about our sports car is, you can take them four at a time.

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make Jamaica
this year, so
we bought Gold
instead."

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LETTERS

A TROUBLED PRINCE

After reading about Prince Charles's "problems"—lots of money, a gorgeous wife, healthy sons, girls to attend, yachts to launch, Mediterranean cruises—where can I apply to be his successor? Prince Charles comes of age. "Special Report, Nov. 1987" I'm sure the people starving in Third World countries would kill to be a young or teenage at the palace and never voice a word of discontent. Was this silver-spooned, overpaid, bored heir apparent? We should all be so blessed as he.

Sharon Goss
Winnipeg



Prince Charles: bored heir apparent

THREATENED FREEDOM

The article "Grogging the Hot" (World, Oct. 30) is evidence that Margaret Thatcher's neoconservative social front at the time, has now begun to threaten the freedom of the British. Surely they will not let her into the legislative territories of the South African government. She has not far to go but she will get a taste if she has to.

Angus O'Neil
Malpas, N.S.

KUDOS FOR COURAGE

Kudos to you for publishing Barbara Amiel's balanced description of Israel, showing how the neo-Semite propaganda of apocryphal and Arab rock-drummers feed each other ("The small-screen vision of Israel," Column, Nov. 14). You were very brave to buck the trend.

John Timms
Chorley, Ont.

Has it ever occurred to you that Maxine's could save a lot of money by dropping Barbara Amiel from the masthead and having the Jewish Delusion League write the same propaganda for free?

Stephen Brown
Moncton, N.B.

THE SECRET FORMULA

Many Canadian farmers have concerns about free trade; however, we may all have missed one aspect. Apparently, the farmers and food processors in Idaho, like, have figured ways to produce "tender milk, thicker meat" than their Canadian cousins ("Consumers' choice," Business, Nov. 7). Are we to assume that cattle, pigs and chickens are slaughtered on the spot to produce fresh meat so that the U.S. consumers feel secure about its tender meat? We hope that under the free

trade agreement, Canadians will have access to the formulas that have made these improved products available.

Roger Lomax
Owen Sound, Ont.

I wonder how many Canadians who shop in the United States to save money stop to realize

that they are carrying a living in Canada, benefiting from the quality of life here, and then crossing the line to take advantage of U.S. workers and producers, denying income to their own. Is this the free trade mentality? Take where the taking is good—regardless of the rest to the community?

Tim Eddow
Edmonton

ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY

I was shocked to read "Greening the grill" (Business, Nov. 7). What a relief it is to know that some companies actually care about our environment enough to produce environmentally friendly products. Even though their profits increase as a result, we all benefit.

Pam Fidler
Leamington, Ont.

TOOLS OF CONVENIENCE

Helmut Kohl's announcement ("Breaking the ice," World, Nov. 7) that officials had agreed last that the Soviets will release all political prisoners by the end of the year should be received with skepticism and caution. A

PASSAGES

APPOINTED: Brian Dickie, 67, general director of the Toronto-based Canadian Opera Company, effective on Jan. 1, 1988. The Newark, England, native was general administrator of London's renowned Glyndebourne Festival Opera. He took over the COC position and its \$14.3-million budget from the flamboyant Leslie Mannes, who is leaving next month after 12 years to head the San Francisco Opera. Although Mannes controlled both the musical and administrative sides of production, his successor says that he will appoint the company's first music director. After Dickie took Glyndebourne over in 1973, the festival became known for its daring and encouraging productions of 20th-century operas.



DISCOVERED: Raymond Dart, 36, whose discovery of the "missing link" between man and ape changed the theory of human evolution, of complications following a cerebral hemorrhage, in Johannesburg. In 1924, about 645 km southwest of Johannesburg, the Australian-born anthropologist discovered a fossilized child's skull that combined human and ape characteristics. The scientific community dismissed the importance of Dart's discovery until the 1940s, when other fossil findings sustained his theory.

DEAD: Legendary New York Giants pitcher Carl Hubbell, 65, who once struck out five future Hall of Famers as a core of legends after the car he was driving struck a rental pool near his home in Mesa, Ariz. In the 1934 all-star game, the left-hander, who was elected to the Hall of Fame in

1947, won his celebrated seventh strike at Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Jimmy Fox, Al Simmons and Joe Cronin.

DEAD: British socialite Janet Kidd, 80, daughter of New Brunswick-born British newspaper magnate Lord Beaverbrook, in her home near London. Born in Halifax, she moved with her parents to England in 1910 where her father, born Max Aitken, later bought the influential *Daily Express* and served as Winston Churchill's wartime cabinet.

DEAD: Marjorie Wood, 85, the deaf and blind publisher of Canada's first braille magazine, in hospital near her Vancouver home. Wood founded the magazine *Deaf and Tape* in 1952 and launched the Canadian League for the Deaf-Blind a year later.



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PHILIPS



2088 Canadian parliamentary report on the human rights situation behind the Iron Curtain asserts that, despite developments in the U.S.S.R. concerning glasnost and perestroika, the Soviet Union has not lived up to the obligations to which it has subscribed. Recently, there has been massive arrests by nationalist groups in the Soviet republics. And when thousands of Ukrainians gathered and openly defied police regarding their republic, they were dealt with in violent terms by Soviet authorities. The new policies of glasnost are evidently being used as a tool of convenience in Moscow's interest.

Andrus Muskowsky,
Director, Ukrainian Canadian Centre for
Information, Toronto, Ontario

FROM THE HEART

Congratulations on the article on Rita MacNeil in the Nov. 7 issue ("The sweet sound of success," Macle). You have done yourselves and Rita proud for a heartwarming article depicting her as down-to-earth and very compassionate. She has given us much for the time being. How every one of her songs because they are true and from her heart.

Steven Schar,
Victoria

SEXUAL CLUES

Scarily the term "allokarysis" went out the linguistic back door years ago along with "anxiety" and "infidelity." Florida is court." World Notes, Nov. 10 Readers who were interested in the sex of Pamela Mason's broadcaster (beatifically) would have been able to deduce it from her name, Dora.

Leslie Deane
Windsor, Ont.

A CLEARING IN THE WOODS

Reading Allen Fotheringham's "The high season of live trade" (Column, Nov. 14) was like a clearing in the woods of confusion on the subject. For one, he has clarified the basic issue: where for once in our lives emotion is required and the logical solution will follow. Thanks a million, Edith.

Terrance LeBlond Ross,
Montréal

Allen Fotheringham writes, "If it weren't for emotion, there wouldn't be such an ideological fight as Canada." Having read the free trade agreements apart, I don't recall Canada's position as having been begrimed away.

Peter Macdonald,
Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should specify name, address and telephone number. Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor, Maclean's, 100 King Street West, Toronto, Ont. M5X 1C4.

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OPENING NOTES

Flora MacDonald looks to the future, John Turner breaks a date and Pierre Trudeau meets the Old Guard

THE NURSES ARE WAITING

Deities given are made to be broken, but that is small consolation for a group of disappointed nuns from Windsor, Ont. On Nov. 5, liberal party workers discovered that the Victorian Order of Nurses had booked the largest room in the Cobalt Club, a restaurant that was also scheduled to host a rally for Opposition leader Justin Trudeau. The nuns agreed to switch to smaller quarters when party workers pledged that Trudeau would attend their awards ceremony later in the evening. But when the rally ended, Trudeau and his wife, Sophie, went straight to their car and headed for their hotel. In a desperate attempt to lure back the leader, Windsor-area staff took a group out after the awards, yelling, "We wish you stay!" and "We wish you stay!" and "We wish you stay!" and another promise from the leader's aide: that Trudeau would send the nuns a letter of commendation. By word's end, the nuns had realized no letter. Presumably, the liberal party is busy with other messages.



Turner at the Gabors Club: forgotten promise

High rewards for a defeated veteran

A 19-year term as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom and the United Nations, and a 1990-91 stint as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union. At least the rest to Liberal Party of Canada's Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. But MacDonald would not hold either after a political career that included two cabinet posts and a 1979 appointment as the first female secretary of state for external affairs. Indeed, Conservative officials are now Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's in counseling whether to let MacDonald, 64, sponsor her Canadian high court bid. Her father, a well-known lawyer, is the governor general when Mulroney gave David's term expires in 1995. They said that MacDonald would decline a Senate seat because of patronage. But they predict would avert the posting to India he, rather, her second would



Ms. Oswald never withdrew the money.

common to become governor general is politically safe. The common an unbroken line of men held that post before Sarraf's 1983 appointment. Besides, Flara likes nothing better than throwing a good party.

**THREE STARS
IN CANADA**

When *The New York Times* transferred John Burns from Beijing to Toronto two years ago, the journalist said that he didn't expect his ratings to drop. But Media Guide, a publication that assesses U.S. reporters on an annual basis, claims that Burns' coverage has declined in the Canadian market. "As a result, it has reduced his four-star rating by one star. Burns, a Canadian himself, is unaffiliated and claimed that his posting in the navy of many U.S. reporters. He added, "People don't tend to shoot each other here." Reviewers take note.



Murphy, Trainers: football, cold sandwiches and a Liberal reunion

THE 'SKINS AND THE POLLS

Like many Canadians, Pierre Trudeau spent the evening of Nov. 21 watching the election results with friends. The former prime minister joined a gathering at the Montreal home of Senator Lou Kibler, which included such members of the Liberal Old Guard as former Trudeau advisers James Coates and Michael Joffe. Meanwhile, at the Canadian High Commission in London, 300 guests dined more simply. The bear was downed by Labrel's, but staff members strag-

tive to federal budget constraints dug into their own pockets to pay for sandwiches consumed by 300 guests. Diplomats in Washington also hosted an election event, featuring three telecasts in English, in French and, in another room, a football game between the Washington Redskins and the San Francisco 49ers. Former U.S. trade negotiator Peter Murphy speedily watched the football game. That seemed to be the only score he was aware of.



Chapter 6 post assessment

The price is right

In a recent, President Ronald Reagan will receive the White House and embarking on his new career as a professional speaker. At least two U.S. banking agencies are competing to represent the President, offering fees of up to \$100,000 for each engagement. That he would make Reagan the highest-paid performer on what he calls the "most important circuit" represents a move of New York City's Barry Winkler Agency and the Washington, D.C.-based Washington Speakers Bureau claim that Reagan is the highest-paid performer on the circuit because he is former secretary of state Henry Kissinger, who charges up to \$50,000 for a 90-minute, or longer, presentation. General Ford, whose fee is reported to be \$25,000. "No known," The Great Commission. "Reagan is expected to use a number of academic 'tricks' perfected during his two terms in office. According to former presidential aide Martin Anderson, Reagan has a habit of removing one of his contact lenses before addressing large audiences. If, during so, he can see the audience, he will speak more effectively. The second eye is placed over the glasses on the podium. Still, he has been seen fired into a live-fire, which

The politics of friendship

In the final week of the federal election campaign, Liberal candidate Paul Martin Jr. complained bitterly that the election campaign was being threatened by an old friend: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. When Mulroney scheduled a visit to the Montreal riding of LaSalle-Masson to support Conservative candidate Claude Lacelle, Martin complained a Tory adviser had asked why his friend was trying to hurt him. In the end, Martin narrowly won the riding. That victory will give him plenty of opportunity to explore the differences with the Prime Minister.

PLAYING FAMOUS PEOPLE

Jack Nicholson, Shirley Maclaine and Elizabeth Taylor joined in Toronto International airport recently in audition for a series of television commercials. Reports of their arrival—harshly by a *Busch* double who carried a sign bearing their names—sent a ripple of excitement through the airport. But when the trio flew in from Windsor, Ont., media hounds were disappointed: all three looked decidedly unfamiliar. Nicholson, for now, is a part-time music teacher. They were finding the idea of marketing Canadian *Bravo* Goodfellas who spread military gangsta with beautiful women to promote a vending machine that rents movie videotapes. The idea—which could make the unknown actors more famous—air this week.

SAVAGING THE LEADERS

New York City-based *Style* magazine regularly unveils the famous with an unretouched feature called *Separated at Birth?* It pairs photos of such unaltered look-alikes as Cher and Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto. Now, *Style* has focused on Celine



E. coli and

Leahy, while Clayton Carter provided the three party targets with possible terms. Leher's Leader John Turner was seen the most flustering partner. U.S. actor George Peppard plays Minister Bruce Mulroney's chief was contacted against that of Massachusetts Senator John Kerry. But Bill Broadhead received the harshest treatment. Carter watched the MP leader with film actor Alvin Karpis's 1939 portrait of

The Shopper's Gallery



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Governing the financial planners

BY DEANE SWANICK

Federal consultant William Kelly worked both sides of the street and was sentenced to two years in jail last year as a result after the sentence became apparent. The Kelly arrested him in Missouri in 1986 because he was advising his clients to sue the state of Missouri for \$1 million. He refused to tell them that he was also pocketing secret commissions from the condemnation sellers for taking them onto being Kelly's clients testified at his trial in July, 1986, that they thought they were receiving absolute insurance advice and that they were absorbed in their own greed. Kelly received \$700,000 in return for getting his clients to buy 647 condominiums between 1980 and 1985 in Missouri. Edmond said Whempsey "The judge said that Kelly had acted 'dishonestly, unlawfully, without authority and through cunningly'." Kelly was charged with conspiracy to defraud the people of St. Louis. Greg Lutz, National

A more recent case involves a self-styled "financial planner." The Ontario woman was charged by police with fraud in 1987, but she has pleaded not guilty to allegations that she diverted her own use client money earmarked for investments. Her preliminary hearing is scheduled for early in the new year. Both her case and the one involving Kelly underscore the fact that the public at large should

where the law does not place as large a burden on those who choose financial advice, and financial advisors, carefully. Currently, there are no restrictions governing the use of the titles "financial planner," "financial counselor" or "financial consultant," even though there should be. Such persons should be licensed as are certain other financial advisors, including accountants.

Provincial securities commissions fight to protect consumers from abuses by the unregulated financial sector

another matter. Several provincial securities commissions are studying whether to license planners or whether some other form of regulation would better protect consumers. Although such controls do not guarantee quality of advice or honesty, they at least allow the public to check up on individuals before hiring them. Controls also exist that if there is a wall of trouble, brokers can be suspended immediately until an investigation is completed. In the interim, financial proceedings can grind on to a halt.

James G. Thompson, and solicitor with the Ontario Securities Commission, declared: "We cannot set the agenda. Financial Planning, and ensure that private is competent and will act in your best interests. We are looking at how to protect the public in this area." The Quebec Securities Commission has also adopted the problem and has proposed the creation of a body with representatives from the accounting, insurance and mutual-fund industries, as well as other groups that conduct financial planning activities, to create a self-regulatory framework with as many for bankers and CNA. The problem is that a completely effective group may take years to create and, meanwhile, there is a regulatory vacuum.

Fortunately, while government officials work to implement a new regulatory framework, CPAs can take immediate steps to help the public. The Institute for the Future of Accounting is sponsoring the American Association of Financial Planners. The group has established credentials for its membership and has grown to 1,100 from the original 300 donors from a variety of fields, including everything from commissioned mutual-fund salesmen, CPAs and finance advisors earning fees and commissions from clients only. During the last, its board of directors has tested and accredited all members and thousands of applicants, and also exposed such ethical standards in a requirement to give a client's interests absolute priority over its own and to provide written reports of

Since 1917, the association has expelled three members for unethical behavior. Says chairman Timothy Ryan—who is also president of Canada's largest life-only financial planning firm, called Vita Financial Consultants Ltd., "We put forth only our ethics and introduced our designation" as "certified financial planners," with minimum standards of ethical conduct and continuing education. "We have 15 years of experience in the financial planning industry," he added. "We hear complaints from the public and investigate them carefully." As well, the association has lodged the felony suit of the financial planners are paid. Said Ryan, "We made a decision not to judge their earnings based on their source of income. We have instead chosen that they disclose their source of income and we have a fairly rigorous screening process compiled with the error."

Secret transactions, such as those that occurred in the Killy case, are a Criminal Code offense under Section 363. Disclosure probably best will do to prevent potential conflicts of interest. Financial intermediaries work for investors by getting the best buy at the lowest cost, while the interests of those working for the seller is to get buyers to pay as much as possible. It is why it may be impossible to work in the best interests of both buyer and seller in the same transaction. Still, in its exclusion, the association felt that rather than exclude from its ranks those competent financial planners who accept payments from both buyers and sellers, it is simply better for them to disclose that practice in the belief that if consumers know about potential conflicts, they may judge wisely with more information.

Any member of the public can call consumer advisors in major Canadian cities to get a list of financiers, their credentials and methods of payment. That roster and its accompanying warning prompts is about the only protective remedy afforded the public when it comes to financial planners. There is no guarantee that advice will be profitable, or fully competent. No institution can guarantee quality or honesty. And, undoubtedly, there are good planners in Canada who are not members, as well as the possibility that there are bad ones who may be overseen. The bottom line is that anyone who does not avoid time to check and advisors before trusting them is a fool who is asking to be parted from his money.

STARTING OVER



He spent much of his first term in the political drama, his government's massive majority seemingly neutralized by "advice and consent" of embittered Liberals. But Martin Brumley always assumed that when the time came for him to lose the election, the victory of Canadians would be his—albeit not by a long way. It was not to be.

But in the end, the victory of Canadians would be his—albeit not by a long way. It was not to be.

Breaking: Having suffered through the many small crises and humiliations of his first term, Mulroney is now well positioned to tackle the economic and regional challenges that he faced. At 65, he has become the most successful Conservative prime minister since Sir Robert Borden and the first leader of any party to win back-to-back majorities since Louis St. Laurent did for the Liberals in 1949 and 1953. Ironically, the Nov. 22 victory galed the 1984 bubble: the Tories lost the popular vote 44 to 43 per cent from 49 per cent, while the Liberals rose four points to 30.9 per cent and the New Democratic Party rose almost two points to 20.4 per cent. But since again, Mulroney had assembled a government with strong representation in every region of the country—sent he had done it his way, by breaking out of his handlers' tight control and appealing directly to the people.

For Liberal leader Jean Chrétien, there was at least some consolation in last week's results: despite the strength of his own abilities as a campaigner, the Liberals increased their standing to 43 seats from 38. Liberals across the country joined Turner for his heartfelt crusade against free trade, but privately a murmur of second-guessing and recriminations was already rising. "Trouble on the horizon," minister Jean Chrétien, for one, told a Toronto audience only two days after the election that he would be available to take over the leadership "if I'm needed"—a rare sign that the pressure on Turner to step down was acute. Although Turner himself was aware that his future, Liberals close to him predicted that he would announce his retirement before the party's national convention next April.

The victory with his sons Broadbent and Mark, wife, Nina, and daughter, Caroline, he proved that he was right

like the Liberals, the New Democrats will be forced in the coming months to do some soul-searching. For all of his personal popularity, NDP leader Ed Broadbent failed once again to establish his party as a credible national alternative to the Tories and the Grits. Instead, the NDP's vote was largely confined to Atlantic Canada or Quebec, with the most pronounced of the three parties, with all but one of its 45 seats concentrated in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and scattered pockets of Ontario. Still, it was the party's best showing ever, and Broadbent himself will likely be allowed to retire gracefully before the next election. But the party he leaves behind will have to decide whether to remain true to its socialist roots or to continue Broadbent's long-standing efforts to broaden its political base, possibly by embracing the private sector.

Analysis: Beyond that, the Nov. 22 results raised important questions about the future shape of the Canadian political landscape. All three parties will now have to wonder whether a sell-off ever possible to win a majority would be a better deal for Quebec. Both Turner and Broadbent had tried to appeal to Quebec by supporting the Meech Lake constitutional accord over the objections of some of their English-Canadian supporters. But in the end, the Tories, whose leader energetically courted nationalist sentiment in Quebec while expelling his supporters in a similar way, swept Quebec. By contrast, the Liberals—formerly widely loved in Quebec—slipped to just 12 seats from 17 in 1984, and only five of those are in ridings with heavy or exclusive francophone populations.

Elsewhere, the Conservatives will have to study the implications of the rise of an assortment of right-wing populist parties. In Ontario, the anti-abortion Christian Heritage Party and the anti-political correctness of 20 points slipped enough votes away from the Tories to allow Liberal ex-NDP candidate to lead first in five ridings: Simsbury, Preston, Manning, night-wing Reform party, appealing to regional discontent in the West, failed to elect a single candidate of its own but contributed to Tory losses in six seats. Mulroney will have to maintain a delicate balance between English and French Canada to avoid further alienating his party's traditional supporters in the West.

Transparency: None of those concerns seemed to be troubling the Prime Minister last week when he appeared before a festive Tory fund-raising dinner in Toronto. Declared Mulroney: "What I heard last week Monday was millions of Canadians saying, quite simply and quite clearly, 'I have confidence in Canada'." In fact, Mulroney's second term could turn out to be as difficult as his first—particularly if the economy slows down and there are long- or short-term job losses in industry adjacent to free trade. But for the time being, having emerged triumphant from one of the most unpredictable campaigns in Canadian history, Mulroney himself could indeed be optimistic.

BOB LUTER in Ottawa

National Notes

DEATH OF AN MP

The newly elected Conservative MP for the northern Alberta riding of Ponter River, John Doherty, 52, died of a heart attack about 100 miles from his home on Nov. 21, just days after the election. Doherty had been in hospital since Oct. 21, but the nature of his illness was not revealed before the election. His death leaves the seatings in the new House of Commons 15, Liberal 62, New Democrats 13, vacant 1.

TUMULT IN THE EAST

As midnight approaches, so do the Rabbis' seats about southern, 1,100 km from Toronto, in Eastern Canada and the New Brunswick Strait. The town, the largest in the region since 1922, was created in the 19th century, 150 km northwest of Quebec City, where it crossed power lines and slight damage.

ADVICE ON PROSTITUTION

Utah should regulate prostitution, says a study commissioned by the federal justice department. The report by three University of Calgary professors was one in a series designed to assess the effectiveness of Bill C-48, a 1985 law that was supposed to crack down on prostitution.

LABORIOUS RECOUNT

City of Toronto staff will recount 142,107 ballots manually after officials discovered that a new \$4.5-million automatic system rejected 1,416 ballots in the Nov. 14 municipal election, but the recount is not expected to affect the results.

NORTH-SOUTH DEAL

Improved economics, tourism and transportation are among the objectives of a study in an agreement signed by Manitoba Premier Gary Filmer and Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich.

"NO" VOTE ON STATEMENT

A United Church panel, sponsored by its pulpitary committee, ruled against sending the question of uniting homosexualists to a membership vote last August, the Church adopted a controversial statement recognizing the right of homosexuals to become ministers.

BACK TO CLASS

Classes resumed at Dalhousie University after striking faculty members reached a tentative agreement in the 18-day strike.

RESUE AT SEA

A Canadian Pacific helicopter rescued the 21-year crew of the \$3,000-ton Greenville tugboat Kora, which was sailing in rough seas 400 miles off Nova Scotia.



Turner (left) and Broadbent on election night: a clear path for the trade bill

WAITING FOR THE AGENDA

WHAT WILL MULRONEY DO NEXT?



Last week's general election apparently sealed the future of the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement, but it left an important issue as unresolved: when Brian Mulroney will do for a reason. For better or worse, Canadians will likely have to wait a few more months before they find out Mulroney's immediate challenge as he steps out the agenda for his second term as he clears up the heavy backlog of unfinished business from his first. In addition to the trade legislation, the list includes bills to implement the Yarnold national child care program, update the broad casting laws and reform the Canadian Elections Act. The government also committed itself to the last Parliament to unambiguously a controversial new national sales tax. Only when those

tasks are completed will Mulroney be free to devote his full attention to deciding how he intends to proceed.

Prediction: Despite his party's resounding victory on Nov. 21, Mulroney's task will not be easy. One factor that may work in his favor is that the Tories did not have to make a long list of campaign promises in order to win re-election, although during the run-up to the campaign, they committed \$4 billion to new government projects and initiatives. By running on its record, the government made sure that its hands would not be tied. But in so doing, the Tories lost the opportunity to get a clear mandate for any major new program. Mulroney already faces tough challenges as a result of his previous commitments and actions—particularly on the theory issue of a new federal sales tax, the details of which have yet

to be made public, and the March 1990 constitutional accord, still not ratified by the New Brunswick and Manitoba governments. Clearly, if he decides to move in any new, unorthodox direction, he will have to tread cautiously if he wants to avoid alienating his supporters.

Prediction: The immediate agenda, at least, is clear. Last week, Mulroney announced that he was recalling Parliament on Dec. 22. After a brief debate speech, the Tories plan to reintroduce the trade bill in hopes of getting it approved by the House of Commons and the Senate before the Dec. 31 ratification deadline. The U.S. Congress has already approved the agreement and, in the aftermath of last week's election, both the Liberal and New Democratic Party leaders pledged that they would not attempt to block it in either chamber. The Canada-U.S. agreement would then go into effect on Jan. 1, beginning a 10-year process to eliminate virtually all tariffs on goods and services traded between the two countries (page 40).

In most other respects, however, Mulroney's government will be in a holding pattern until early in the new year. Six of his 39 cabinet members lost their seats in the election, most notably Justice Minister Einar Harcourt, Communications Minister Flora Macdonald and Solicitor General James Kiefer. But instead of replacing them immediately, Mulroney will ask other ministers to take over their duties while he decides how to reorganize the Tory front benches. One reason for the delay is that the Prime Minister wants to wait until the inevitable lobbying for promotion has died down.

When the shuffle does occur, probably in late January or early February, Mulroney also said that he would probably attempt to streamline the cabinet structure by reducing the number of ministers to about 35. As well, there are likely to be changes to duties for senior ministers. Energy Minister Marcel Masse, who, in the past, has criticized the government's natural gas and energy policies, could be shifted to a less prominent portfolio, and International Trade Minister John Crosbie to Justice Crosbie's harsh attacks on opponents of the trade agreement during the campaign against former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. And one senior policy adviser, "Crosbie has proven once again that he cannot discipline himself." Party officials say that Employment and Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall, meanwhile, is a line for promotion to a senior economic portfolio, although she has told friends that she also would like Commu-



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crisis—a crisis that could go to David Macdonald, elected in Toronto. Most other senior cabinet members, including Joe Clark at External Affairs and Donald Minns at the Treasury, will probably stay where they are. And last week, Mulroney announced that Mulroney will remain in Ottawa.

Impatience: But the report means that likely will remain in his own office. His chief of staff, Derek Sturges, has been credited with establishing a sense of order in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) in the last year of his first term, but he is now leaving to become Canada's ambassador in Washington. To avoid serious problems later, Mulroney will need to replace Sturges with someone who has inside knowledge of the mechanics of power—someone

whose role it has second term that in his first. His ability to restore a prolonged along in the public opinion polls and then refused to capture a second majority in the face of the Liberal resurgence has greatly enhanced his stature within the party. And one official in the Prime Minister's Office. "Mulroney has made a career out of being underestimated, but let's not say much more about it himself." Another party veteran said that Mulroney had spent the past four years as a masterman-asker within the party but that, from this point on, he will likely set the pace. "Mulroney is now his own man—he owns every little in his body," the adviser said. "I know more people coming to him and wanting him to make the decisions. He will put more of his own mark on the government and the party."

"He has a much better understanding than he used to of how things work in government. And his realistic brand of conservatism is the only conservatism that works in this country."

Hard choices: But not all of them agree with that perception. Some of the right wingers in his caucus were disappointed with the slow pace of economic reform during Mulroney's first term. Now that the government has won a second, they argue, the time has come to tackle some of the country's problems—including the size of the federal deficit and the spiralling cost of the social-welfare system. "When we took office in 1984, a lot of our members did not have a clue as to what they were dealing with," said Tony MP Donald Blevins, a prominent right-winger and chairman of the Commons

THE VOTE BY PROVINCE, 1984 AND 1988



use who knows, as one adviser put it, "how to get things done when people tell you that it is impossible." But Mulroney, currently director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, is one possible candidate for the position. Mulroney may also ask Toronto lawyer John Topley to become his personal secretary, responsible for political affairs—but only if current Principal Secretary Peter White decides not to stay on.

Privately, Mulroney's advisers say that they expect the Prime Minister to play a far more

active role in his second term than in his first. His ability to restore a prolonged along in the public opinion polls and then refused to capture a second majority in the face of the Liberal resurgence has greatly enhanced his stature within the party. And one official in the Prime Minister's Office. "Mulroney has made a career out of being underestimated, but let's not say much more about it himself." Another party veteran said that Mulroney had spent the past four years as a masterman-asker within the party but that, from this point on, he will likely set the pace. "Mulroney is now his own man—he owns every little in his body," the adviser said. "I know more people coming to him and wanting him to make the decisions. He will put more of his own mark on the government and the party."

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COVER

MULRONEY'S IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE IS A LARGE BACKLOG OF BUSINESS

spires as part of its search for ways to cut government spending. Right now, people are reluctant to take jobs that pay \$300 a week, because they can get more than that in U.S.," he said. "There is a definitely excess cost in there, and it is forcing employers to pay higher wages just to attract people back into the workforce." In addition, Blackburn said that the government should consider shifting down government-owned Via Rail Canada Ltd., which receives \$500 million a year in federal subsidies, and selling off such state-owned enterprises as Petro-Canada and the country's airports.

Hard-core Those who know Mulroney best insist that he will not be diverted from his moderate agenda by pressure from his party's hard-core, such as Blackburn. Indeed, the party's commitments during the campaign may now keep the Tories on a more moderate track than they had originally intended. One party official said last week that some Tories still want to re-instate social programs and bring costs under control, despite the fact that in such a strategy to cut back pension increases were barely mentioned in 1985 after widespread public criticism. But he said that the government is unlikely to accommodate those demands because of its repeated theme during the unopposed debate over free trade that the agreement placed social programs at risk. Added the official: "The opposition would be wasting its screen if we did anything now."

Meanwhile For their part, more moderate Tories say that at the wake of the free trade debate—that the loss of so many seats in lost in favor would be the Liberals—Mulroney will have to work hard to convince Canadians that he shares their values and aspirations. And Blackburn, a former Toronto MP who worked on the winning campaign of former Tory minister and diplomat David MacDonald in the 1982 Toronto riding of Rosedale. "The biggest task that Mulroney has is to prevent the situation

of the past. He has to break the developing image that he is a moderate big business." In the same time, Mulroney said he is worried that the government could begin to drift further to the right of the political spectrum. "The ac-



Mulroney and Mulroney in Rose-Corcoran: new battles over Meech Lake

and terms of a conservative government as mostly more right-wing than the first because there is a growing confidence and cohesion." Interestingly, Mulroney can probably look forward to warm relations with U.S. grandchild George Bush. Like Mulroney, Bush is a

proponent with little evident ideology. "In many ways, Mulroney has more in common with Bush than he did with Ronald Reagan," said Richard Anderson, a consultant from Ottawa who now works as a lobbyist in Washington. "I frankly think that the relationship will work out pretty well." Anderson added that the recent controversy over free trade and its effect on Canadian sovereignty has involved many Americans in the uncertainties that exist at Canada over trade issues. As a result, he said, American legislators will likely approach trade disputes between the two countries more carefully. "I do not know how long it will last, but my hunch is that they will be more willing to solve disagreements through consultation rather than litigation. Otherwise, they will know that they are playing with fire on territorial, economic and national issues."

Support: Finally, Mulroney returns determined to complete the other major initiative that has carried over from his first term: the Meech Lake constitutional accord, which recognizes Quebec as a "distinct society" and gives the province more power to agree such as immigration and the selection of senators. The agreement needs the support of all 10 legislatures before June, 1990, if it is to go into effect, but, so far, only eight have given their assent. Last week, Mulroney said he hoped that at the wake of his election victory, the two remaining provinces, Manitoba—where the Conservatives have a minority government—and New Brunswick, would move quickly to ratify the accord. But his request earned a sharp rebuke from Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Gaudet and provincial New Leader Gary Doer, both of whom said that they would not support the accord as it presented form. And in New Brunswick, Liberal Premier Frank McKenna said that he would continue pressing Doer for amendments to protect the rights of women, minority language groups and natives. But Mulroney, anxious to see Meech Lake as another sign that his second term will be no less content with this his first.

BONES LATER with JACQUES MACGREGOR in Ottawa

TIME FOR REAPPRAISAL

THE OPPOSITION PARTIES REGROUP



The message from a distraught Raymond Gensuso in Montreal was relayed to John Turner's suite in the Hotel Macdonald at 7:45 Pacific time on election night. Gensuso, Turner's chief Quebec lieutenant, was about to concede defeat. But first he wanted to know if Turner was going to refer to the federal Liberal party's support for the Meech Lake constitutional

reform as proper role in Canada—whether going far power as the only useful function for socialists," said Gerald Caplan, a former senior federal secretary. "I have always thought that our primary function is to influence public opinion on progressive ways." And Broadbent's defeat, which has derailed the political professionals who have tried to bring the NDP toward a more pragmatic style—and electoral success—opens the way to a challenge from those members who want the NDP to remain

reform's longtime enemy. "I do not think Ed wants to have four more years of the same thing," Mulroney, most of Turner's friends and associates expect the Liberal leader to announce his personal intention in January, before the party's national executive meets to determine whether to proceed in April with a convention that would consider, among other things, holding a vote on whether to have a leadership contest.

But few Liberals expect that Turner will stay. Even his closest friends doubt that, after being battered by internal revolts over the past few years, Turner has the determination—or the capacity—to lead off further challenges. By the end of the campaign, with the party dropping a point a day in its own polls, Turner knew that his goal of holding the Tories in a minority was not out of reach. Still, he expected to win at least 100 seats, and trends that he was dismayed by the extent of the Tory victory. "He will want to stay on for a while as the party can start to rebuild," said one friend. "But he will have to give an indication that he will go into the next election or else the party will spend all its energy trying to get rid of him."

Backlash: The caucus over which Turner presides is no generally unopposed. The party elected 12 MPs in Quebec, down from 27 in 1984. But it now has 43 from Ontario, as members of the 20-member Atlantic outposts in disproportionately strong competition with the power of Liberal representation in the West—five seats from Manitoba and two from British Columbia and two from the Northwest Territories. Although Turner had promised to rejuvenate the party in Western Canada, it's going in the opposite direction in the West—five seats from Manitoba and two from British Columbia and two from the Northwest Territories.



Martin's use of money returned to be eager for Turner's job

1988 campaign with great expectations. Although it elected 43 MPs—a record for the party—the new core ignores him because a party of the West with a leader from Ontario. The divided hopes of turning the official opposition in the Tories also has left many party members disillusioned with Broadbent. "The party has to

the political conscience of the country. In the wake of their parents' defeat, neither Broadbent nor Turner would guarantee about their political interests. But Broadbent, who missed opportunity during the campaign about some day opening to a dissent about to write a book, may give up his political life to devote more time to his wife, Lucille, and 16-

FEW EXPECT EITHER BROADBENT OR TURNER TO LEAD ANOTHER CAMPAIGN

of Winnipeg-based *Special Assignment* Ltd. Mary Laverie also made provincial rounds. She was in Ontario with the federal party's arrival in Manitoba. Laverie, a Canadian, could do little for the party's better west. She told John Broadbent, the newly elected Liberal from Winnipeg St. James: "We have a Manitoba team with a Manitoba agenda. But I would be here then only if I and we were not disappointed that we failed to win more seats in the West."

Fighting Until Turner assumes it—and when—he will quit, the party is likely to undergo further factional fighting as prospective contenders try to build support for their future leadership race. Last week, John Chretien was already publicly offering his candidacy, while privately beseeching to colleagues that he was the only candidate who could reestablish links between English and French Canada. And one Chretien supporter, welcoming the defeat of March-Leslie proponent Genuis, "I have watched Genuis change what my party has stood for and I have watched Turner lose because of it, all for no political gain."

Chretien, a high-profile former Trudeau cabinet minister who did not run in the election, would be best served by an early leadership race—before other contenders have had a chance to ingratiate their profiles in the House of Commons. But Chretien is also being advised that he needs time to court the thousands of new Liberals who joined the party before the last election and who would be electing delegates to a leadership convention. Chretien would also have to battle his image as Quebecer as a ghost from the Trudeau era, ready to reconcile past confrontations between Ottawa and Quebec.

Rivalry Among Chretien's closest critics is the job would be Lloyd Axworthy, the left-leaning Manitoba MP who drafted the party's five trade critics. But many Liberals believe that the party must rebuild its traditional Quebec base and should continue its tradition of alternating between francophone and English-speaking leaders. If that is the case, and party members are looking for an alternative to Chretien, they might compromise on the bilingual English Quebecer Paul Martin Jr., a Montreal businessman who beat Tony Claudio Lachance in a January 1984 contest for the Montreal riding of LaSalle-Saint-Jacques.

Martin may benefit from the perception of those Quebec provincial Liberals who fear the return of Chretien and who view the Quebec caucus as a weak collection of anglophones and Trudeau-style liberals such as André Gauthier, who held his seat in the Montreal riding of Papineau-St-Michel 20th, (real politicians, both Liberals and Turner, have tried to undo Martin's credibility with a whisper campaign, as Montreal political circles aimed at portraying him as "a wing" who lacks the

required toughness for federal politics.

At least for now, Martin is being careful to avoid appearing eager for Turner's job. Clearly aware that he needs national exposure, he says that he will not push for an early leadership convention. Said Martin: "It is very evident that the first we have to reach out to a whole new generation of Quebecers who are not well-versed and who do not identify themselves



Robinson committed to running provincially

with the Liberal party of today."

As much as the Liberals are concerned in Eastern Canada, the NDP strength is now almost entirely based in the West, with Broadbent in Calgary representing the party's movement riding. Top party officials will meet in Ottawa on Dec. 17 to review what went wrong in the campaign and to begin discussions on what direction the party should take over the next four years. But already many longtime party activists were warning Broadbent's next coach for the campaign's flaws. Said Stephen Lewis, former leader of the Ontario NDP: "Several people within the party had stars of power

dancing at their head. The party needs presently to shape public policy, not to govern."

Much of the internal dissent, said NDP executive member Clifford Squire, is aimed at deputy campaign director Robin Sears, whose high public profile—he was the party's designated spokesman during the campaign—was resented by some grassroots workers. Those at the core of the rift campaign, said Squire, "will be hoping that their guests will forget some of the things they have said and done during the last seven weeks."

Most of the NDP leader's closest associates over the past four years—including chief of staff George Mulroney, principal secretary William Knight and Broadbent's longtime executive assistant, Anne Corbett—have indicated that they may leave their current positions in the months ahead. While Broadbent himself has said only that he is considering his future, close associates expect that he will step down before the next campaign. Many possible leadership contenders are not believed, a crucial—if not essential—component of national leadership. And some of the most attractive candidates, such as B.C. Vice Leader Michael Broadbent and Saskatchewan Vice Leader Roy Romanow, are considered to be running in their next provincial elections.

Charming Among the other names mentioned in party circles, former B.C. premier David Barrett, who was a federal seat in the new B.C. riding of Squamish-Juan de Fuca, and the erstwhile Lewis, now a political science professor at the University of Toronto. But, said one senior NDP staffer, "Barrett is busy and charming but cannot be a leader and Lewis has unequivocally said he is not interested in the job." And, he added, other possibilities, such as former Manitoba premier Howard Pawley—defeated last week in the Manitoba riding of Selkirk—are limited by having just elections.

Should the current opposition leadership retire, whoever succeeds will face a massive rebuilding job. Barry Trudell, who ran second in Conservative premier Robert Stanfield's 1984 campaign, said in western Quebec for the NDP, will likely play an active role in trying to establish the party in Quebec. And the Liberals—still heavily in debt—must conduct the thorough rebuilding job that they failed to do between the 1984 and 1988 elections. Said former Minister Graham, the Liberal's national campaign co-chairman: "This is no time to go for the quick fix." Not until that election is complete will the Tories know the nature of the political forces that may confront them when Canadians next go to the polls.

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COVER



Meeting campaigning for a stronger western voice in national affairs

THE WESTERN DISTINCTION

THE TORIES FACE A CLEAR CHALLENGE



He asked for, and received, his second conservative parliamentary majority—and a clear mandate to put the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement into effect. But for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, the election results from Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia confirmed earlier suspicions from the Atlantic region that Canadian opinion divided over the merits of the agreement. In 1984, the Conservative electoral sweep gave the party a strong majority of seats in all four western provinces, as well as in Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic region. Last week, after a bitter and frenzied campaign, the Tories maintained their majority of seats only in Alberta and Quebec, where voters overwhelmingly approved the free trade agreement. But the Tories also dropped 10 seats in the West from the election in 1984. Even in Alberta, where the seat count actually produced the majority in the Commons, slight cracks appeared in the walls of the provincial bastion: the party made a one-seat breakthrough from the left, the right-wing, western-based Reform party and, to a lesser extent, the Independent Christian Heritage Party

also made inroads in the popular vote.

Indeed, throughout the western provinces the Tories faced a challenge from across the political spectrum, although they won 16 of the 36 seats compared with 12 for the New Democrats and six for the Liberals. (The next slot was in the Yukon, while the Liberals took the two Northwest Territories seats.) In Manitoba, the Liberals crossed their standing to five seats from one—all the expense of both the Conservatives and the New Democrats. In Saskatchewan, in what senior Tories acknowledged was an overwhelming vote against the trade agreement, the Conservatives dropped to four seats from nine as the NDP captured 19 of the 24 ridings. In British Columbia, the New Democrats surged ahead to win 19 of 33 seats.

But in Alberta—and to a lesser degree in British Columbia—the Conservatives also faced a formidable challenge from the Reform party, campaigning for a stronger western voice in national affairs. Appealing to feelings of western distinction, it attracted 15 per cent of the Alberta vote—and two points behind the Tories—much of it apparently at the expense of the Tories. None of the Reform party's 72 candidates won a seat, but the organization made a mark on the western political landscape.

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IN ALBERTA, THE REFORM PARTY ALMOST CAUGHT UP TO THE NDP

scape. Said Keith Archer, a political scientist at the University of Calgary: "There is still the feeling that the political system is stacked against the West. The Reform party will pick up on these issues."

The Conservatives were not alone in endorsing free trade in the West. After a poor showing in Atlantic and Central Canada, the NDP suf-

ficient vote of Saskatchewan's 14 seats. Last week, New Democrats took 18 seats, leaving the Conservatives with four and the Liberals once again with none. Among the Tory members, Justice Minister Ray Hnatyshyn, who lost his Saskatchewan-Claik's Crossing riding to New Democrat Chris Alexander by 3,850 votes. The NDP made its gains at the floor of Mulroney's

best William Llewellyn by a slim margin in Edmonton East. But it was enough to make him the first New Democrat ever to win a federal seat in Alberta, a province traditionally considered to be an unassailable Tory stronghold. Alternatively, led by former premier Peter Lougheed—an active proponent of free trade—and his successor, Donald Getty, delivered the other 25 seats to the Tories, giving Mulroney with a ringing endorsement of the accord.

But underling Harvey's upset victory was a phenomenon that haunted the Tories throughout the campaign: the popularity of the Reform party and other right-wing fringe elements and their potential to pull voters away from Conservative candidates. In fact, in Edmonton East, the Reform party received 1,731 votes, while Harvey won by only 654 over Llewellyn. But the Christian Heritage Party, whose 63 candidates across Canada campaigned against abortion and pornography and for a balanced federal budget, also received 806 votes in Harvey's riding—and also took about one per cent of the popular vote in both Alberta and British Columbia. Together, the two parties polled 6.4 per cent of the Edmonton East vote—much of that clearly at Llewellyn's expense.

Reform party candidates attracted support with a platform backing free trade and calling for increased western participation in federal affairs. The party also opposed the Meech Lake constitutional accord and other legislation that party spokesmen say favors francophones. Among the party's strongest candidates was its leader, Preston Manning, a management consultant who homes cowboy boots and suede jackets over the more traditional political uniform—a duck suit. Manning, the son of former Social Credit premier Ernest Manning, ran a high-profile campaign against External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's Whitelash riding. In the end, Clark won with a comfortable 6,896-vote margin. But Manning finished a strong second with 11,152 votes—5,642 ahead of the third-place NDP candidate, Desmond Manning. "We will keep stressing that there is reform, necessary to get more equal representation for Western Canada within Confederation."

Reform party candidates placed second in nine other Alberta ridings, and third in six. And the party might have done even better had free trade not been the central issue of the campaign. Analysts said that as a province where the trade aggressor stops broad support, many Albertans wanted to elect a Tory majority in Ottawa and were unwilling to vote for a fringe party. Said Peter McCormick, a political scientist at the University of Lethbridge: "The Reform party got subverted by free trade. They had hoped for a broader range of issues."

Still, the new party's performance was a clear signal to the Conservative government that some Albertans are unhappy with federal initiatives. That discontent may increase during the Conservative second mandate. For one thing, an University of Calgary's Archer pointed out, "Mulroney's caucus is over one-third Quebec. He likely will have to be very sensitive to Quebec concerns." And that, added Archer, "will reside the West—



Harvey with sister Donna (left), another Pithin, an NDP first in Alberta

level dramatic losses in Manitoba. Former NDP premier Howard Preston failed at his bid for election. The Liberals also captured two ridings that are at the heart of NDP history in Winnipeg North, held almost unanimously by the NDP and by its precursor, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), since the 1930s, 26-year veteran MP David Orndorff lost to Liberal Ray Pithin, a Filipino-Canadian. And in Winnipeg North Centre, represented for two decades by legendary CCF leader J. S. Woodsworth and later by Stanley Knowles, Liberal David Walker defeated New Democrat Cyril Keener, who won the riding in 1984 after Knowles's retirement. Those losses left the NDP with only two of Manitoba's 14 seats, compared with the four that it won in 1984.

In a breakthrough that Liberal trade critic Lloyd Axworthy welcomed, the Liberals won two other Winnipeg ridings from the Tories. For the past four years the sole Liberal MP in the Prairies, Axworthy easily held his Winnipeg South Centre seat by a 14,662 margin over Tory challenger Garth Bentley. Said Axworthy: "We ran on the trade issue here and we won on the trade issue."

But the parties' battles raged at the Manitoba-Saskatchewan border. In 1984, the To-

ronment late in the campaign that Ottawa would provide \$450 million in drought aid to Prairie farmers and despite Conservative Premier Grant Devine's efforts to promote the trade accord. Said Hnatyshyn: "People here made a decision—against free trade."

The NDP's Ross Harvey lost Tory support



Hnatyshyn's decision against free trade

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COVER

THE VOTERS REFLECT CONFLICTS IN A POSTELECTION POLL



For three years from 1985 through 1987, the annual Maricopa/Decision Poll traced declining support across Canada for a free trade arrangement with the United States. Opposition doubled in three years to 44 per cent of the people polled, with fewer people supporting the plan. Before the Nov. 23 election, a mass of six other polls during the first five weeks of the campaign showed a majority of Canadians opposed to free trade and the election itself, 55 per cent of the total votes went to the Liberal and New parties, which campaigned against free trade, compared to the 43 per cent who voted for the Conservative opposition of the trade deal. Now, in a Maricopa/Decision Poll during the last days immediately after the election, national opinion appears to have shifted dramatically. Preliminary results show that 58 per cent of those polled said that free trade is a good or very good idea. At the same time, the same proportion said that there should be a national referendum on the issue.

Divide. Those starting opinions, from a cross-section of Canadians straight out of a federal election, indicate that some former opponents of the free trade agreement are reconsidered or reassessed to the expectation that the re-elected Conservative government will proceed to implement the deal. But, clearly, many of free trade's first supporters and doubtful opponents alike are saying that the decision might be better—separately from other factors involved in the parliamentary election—in a national referendum exclusively on the free trade deal.

The opinions on the trade issue are part of the preliminary results from the most extensive postelection poll ever carried out in Canada. The complex results and analysis of that survey, along with nationwide opinions on a wide range of other subjects, will be published during Christmas week as the fifth annual Maricopa/Decision Poll at 1,560 Canadians. The preliminary results and survey are based on a weighted national sample of 1,500 people, a

poll conducted by stratification to be accurate for the whole population within plus or minus 3.1 percentage points, 19 out of 20 times.

In other preliminary findings of polling from Nov. 23 through Nov. 25, three out of five of the respondents said that they made up their minds how to vote during the 48 days before the election was called on Oct. 1 on election day on Nov. 23. And more than one-quarter of the respondents—37 per cent—admitted they changed their minds at least once during the campaign. In deciding, half of the people said that media coverage during the campaign was helpful to them (see chart). About as many respondents—45 per cent—found the television debates among the three

varied according to their traditional party loyalty (15 per cent).

As indicated during the campaign itself, the poll shows that free trade dominated the issues that engaged voters. Three out of five poll respondents said that postwar the most serious issue was free trade was the most issue in making up their minds how to vote. Almost one in five named economic issues, including federal spending. The others split evenly between social progress and environmental questions as the most important election issues.

Assessing the leaders of the Conservatives, Liberal and New Democratic parties, the people polled after the election were asked to choose among four factors that were the most influential in judging the strengths and weaknesses of Brian Mulroney, John Turner and Edward Broadbent. More than one-third of the respondents said that the most influential factor in assessing the leaders was their vision of the future. Almost as many said competence was the most important factor, while one-quarter of the respondents said the main point was how trustworthy they seemed. Only about one in 10 cited ideology as the chief factor—how easy the leaders are to relate to as people.

Change. Poll respondents were also asked specifically about Turner's leadership of the Liberal party. Although the preliminary poll results did not yet indicate the opinion of Liberal supporters themselves, more than 60 per cent of all people polled said that the party should change leaders before the next election.

Overall, the poll highlights an important attitude toward the free trade deal. While a substantial minority continues to regard the Canada-U.S. agreement as bad or very bad, only eight per cent of respondents held to the opinion that the deal should be abandoned. And despite the indication that a solid majority now supports the deal, only one-third of those polled say that ratifying legislation should be pushed quickly through Parliament. For Prime Minister Mulroney, the majority of respondents who favor a referendum represent a challenge that will test his government's ability to resolve the public's differences over free trade.

Campaign advice

How do you rate the following as aids to deciding how to vote?



	Helpful	Unhelpful	No difference
TV COMMERCIALS	26	15	58
TV DEBATES	45	6	49
LEADER TOURS	24	7	69
LOCAL MEETINGS	31	7	61
PUBLISHED POLLS	23	12	65
MEDIA COVERAGE	51	12	37

Reported percentages of 1,500 respondents to a national Maricopa/Decision Poll Nov. 23 to Nov. 25. Accurate for the whole population 19 times out of 20 with 3.1 percentage points.

party leaders helped in reaching their decision about that particular election. In other opinion polls during the campaign, more than one-third of the respondents said that the TV commercials during the campaign did not matter or were unhelpful.

Legacy. Among major factors that governed how people voted during the election, almost half of the poll respondents—48 per cent—cited the questions taken by the parties on issues. The first question almost split three groups—those who heard their votes made on their assessments of the party leaders (19 per cent), others who said that their local candidate was the most important factor (18 per cent) and a third group who said that they



Maloney (left) conferring with Lortie: on \$5-billion spending spree to show voters that 'these guys have a plan'

ANATOMY OF AN ELECTION

THE VIEW FROM THE TRENCHES



During the last 50 days of the 1988 election campaign, as critical votes slipped from their grasp, Liberal campaign planners delivered a heartful plea to their leader, John Turner. Call John Chaffin, they urged, in a final attempt to convince Turner to abandon his former leadership rival in the campaign. Turner flatly refused—he had been from the start. Unconvinced, the strategists tried another tactic: Call Pierre Trudeau, they pleaded, please let us to cancel the former prime minister in the campaign. Then, despite a previous refusal to

approach Trudeau, Turner agreed. A senior Turner aide called Trudeau a monster, and he said that he would deliver a final speech warning him to back off. But, Trudeau asked, if journalists asked him about the Meech Lake constitutional accord, he would likely repeat that he opposed it. And Turner, who supported the accord, was unwilling to take the risk. The Liberals overrode their ally. On Nov. 21, the Conservatives secured their second straight majority victory—and the Liberals' dreams of power died.

The campaign of 1988 was replete with drama—episodes of bad judgment and good luck, of good judgment and bad timing. These

were shocking mistakes, awesome miscalculations, and not in least to compromise, crucial points that were misinterpreted or intelligently ignored. But there were also moments of political brilliance, often overlooked at the time, which eventually determined the course of the campaign, the standings in the 295-seat House of Commons and perhaps the nation's history. The final tally left the Conservatives with 186 seats, the Liberals with 83 and the New Democratic Party with 43. From extensive interviewing, Maclean's has reconstructed the behind-the-scenes developments that shaped that historic campaign.

THE BEGINNINGS

The stage was set during the summer, when, in the parlance of political strategists, the parties "positioned" themselves for the campaign, designing their messages and defining their jobs. The Conservatives were perhaps the most crafty. Through the late summer, Mulroney favored the message, controlling his partisan tongue and his temper, emphasizing his prime ministerial status. Meanwhile, be-

tween May 31 and late September, his ministers announced more than 70 federal projects, totalling more than \$8 billion. The Tories wanted the voters to view the spending spree, which ranged from \$350 million for the film industry to \$110 million for fiscal districts, as evidence of good government. Senior campaign director Harry Neufeldt wanted people to say, "These guys have a plan."

Promote Tony polling by Deane Research Ltd. of Toronto provided a fascinating glimpse of the strategy at work. Throughout the summer, the Conservatives moved relentlessly from second place into first place, from the 34-to-35 per cent range of support against devoted voters to 42 to 43 per cent. As well, to an important measure of confidence in the government, more than 75 per cent of Canadians said that they were better off in 1984-85, the period after September 1985, than they had been in 1984-85, the period after the 1985 election.

showed a lingering anxiety about the future, as unwelcome fear of another recession. The Conservatives denied their theme accordingly: they brought prosperity, they could maintain prosperity, they could manage change. In the weeks prior to the election, Mulroney called Mulroney that he could expect to win 180 seats.

The Liberals, in contrast, were in trouble. In July, Turner had announced that he would use the Senate to delay passage of legislation to implement the free trade accord with Mulroney called an election. It was a brilliant play because it distinguished the Liberals from the New Democrats, who also opposed the deal. But it was not enough to compete with the onslaught of Conservative spending announcements. Throughout the last three weeks of September, the Liberals dropped eight points in three private polls. On Sept. 26, in a final bid to halt that slide, Turner unveiled his entire 60-point policy program for the campaign, ranging from income supplements for the working poor to a 50-per-cent Canadian ownership policy on oil and gas. There was no great tag.

In the wake of the election, the Liberals would become divided about the worth of that program. It was "an abstract," argued one senior strategist: a collection of costly projects, targeted to appeal to narrow interest groups,

Other Liberals, such as Martin Gollub, chairman of Gollub's Canadians of Toronto, a prime proponent of the package, cautioned that the theme of social and economic justice would be the platform. "It was a subtle play," he said. "Some of the ideas were pretty revolutionary: profit sharing, equal pay for work of equal value. But we could not get the press interested."

Meanwhile, the New Democrats were making the federal government that would deliver their campaign. Prime Minister Mulroney, of course, was not a negative one for the New Democrats. It was an economic and managerial issue, an international issue—and they did not believe in the NDP's ability to manage the economy or international affairs. But Brian Mulroney, the world's Ontario provincial secretary, "We tried every campaign that we could think of, tested dozens of themes, but no matter what we tried, it was a Liberal issue."

As a result, in a later senior strategist later revealed, the party decided to run a series of campaigns, aimed from the political five corners, using these words such as "business,"

instead of the more socialist-sounding word, "equality." The party would make little mention of free trade, it would introduce modest programs, carefully crafted, such as a new environmental program, a new health care program for the poor. And it would devote visible resources to health care, even though the party had won less than 18 per cent of the vote in a June 20 opinion poll in the 1985 election.

THE FIRST THREE WEEKS

With the election call on Oct. 1, the three parties wheeled into battle. In a sleek and tightly controlled campaign, the Conservatives outmaneuvered the others, peeling a policy message into each grueling day. The party wanted to manage the agenda, to control the news. As a result, Mulroney took to a rapid script. He would tour a factory or a school in the morning to provide photo opportunities to accompany the reading of the policy text; at noon, he would go on television to the local media in the afternoon before heading to a rally for partisans in the evening.

Each policy announcement was greeted to a second theme: discovery in the economy improved. Consensus ignored it, focusing on programs that improved what they saw as the quality of their lives. As a result, reports to his clients concluded, "The federal political figures to be seen as relevant, they will need to be able to demonstrate that they are capable of helping solve issues which occur on a community, neighborhood or family level." As a result, Mulroney turned to such issues as the environment, announcing a plan to spend \$75 million to clean up the Great Lakes and \$14 million per year for environmental protection.

Members of the media complained about Tory efforts to control coverage of the campaign and place limits on access to the Prime Minister. But the liberals were beyond the Tories' wheel. During three weeks into the campaign, their polls indicated that they would win more than 200 seats if the election was held then. At Conservative headquarters, the Tory brass took whatever the media collected that they had received as much media

Turner (left), Kennedy: an embarrassing fumble over the cost of day care



THE ROLLER-COASTER CAMPAIGN WAS HEARTBREAKING FOR THE LIBERALS

now as their opponents laid, but the Tories had controlled the agenda. Free trade was merely part of the overall vision, part of the three that the Conservatives were a complete government that could manage change. As Ontario parliament Alex Gregg told *Maclean's*, "I'd had a *Sensational* campaign planned, lovely ads, we were just going to dance in the polls."

The only cure of course came from Mulroney. With eerie foresight, he kept telling press secretary Murray that the campaign was going to become a close race, that free trade was going to become the main issue. When he heard glowing predictions by aides, he would insist, "That doesn't correspond to my analogy." Still, at the request of his skilled top manager, John Tory, Mulroney curbed his partisan instincts, sticking to his written speech texts. Conservative strategists began to feel vaguely nervous: the campaign was going too well.

The Liberals did not have that problem. For four brief days, they had dominated the campaign agenda: they had conducted a lively campaign kickoff at Liberal headquarters in Toronto; they had unveiled a well-crafted plan to provide \$2.6 billion in tax breaks for Canadians saddled with crippling rent or mortgage payments.

Then, on Oct. 5, the first of many disasters struck. Quebec Liberal opponents agreed that Mulroney had successfully linked free trade and Meech Lake in the public mind. Free trade appealed to the Quebec desire for economic sovereignty, Meech Lake appealed to the Quebec desire for political sovereignty. They said that Turner should open a second front on social welfare to win Quebec votes. The rent and mortgage tax breaks were not enough, they added, because housing was not a major issue in Montreal. Instead, they pushed Turner to advance a planned child care announcement to attract Quebec voters.

Only hours before his Oct. 5 news conference, Turner examined the day care program drafted by Montreal MP Lucie Pilon. Liberal officials had offered a price tag ranging from \$4 billion to \$6 billion in the package. In her proposal, Pilon said that if journalists asked

about the cost, Turner should say, "If the \$300 can create 200,000 jobs in half the time of the Conservatives at less than half the cost, then cost should not be an issue." Turner was appalled at the cost—and the recommendation—and he said that he would not mention a price tag at the news conference where the program was to be announced.

But his principal secretary, Peter Connolly,



Tory (right) congratulating the Mulroneys after victory. "We've done a pushover, I will fix it"

did not tell Pilon and Liberal MP Raymond Gauthier that Turner was not going to talk about the price. As a result, at the news conference, under the merciless gaze of the cameras, Pilon tried to talk about the price. To stay lost, Turner put his hand over the microphone and whispered, "You cannot give a precise amount." To add to the embarrassment, Connolly speculated that the total cost "could be \$4 billion, it could be \$20 billion." Four days later, Liberals admitted that the plan might cost \$18.5 billion, underscoring their lack of preparation. Said Goldfarb, "Turner never loved that damn politics in cost."

A litany of problems followed. CBC-TV carried a report on *The National* that senior Liberal planners at a strategy meeting had seriously discussed what might happen if the party

changed its leader. A scholarly book by Goldfarb and Liberal strategist Thomas Ainsworth said that Turner had "blamed" the party's image. Private party polls suggested that only one per cent of Canadians believed that Turner was competent to be prime minister. Party strategists calculated that they would win only 26 seats.

On the road, Turner delivered passionate speeches, concentrating almost exclusively on free trade. He openly ignored the severe pain that he was suffering from a probed nerve in his back. In a private plane with his aides, he was alone, locked in introspective silence. Before each event, he wondered off by himself or with an aide, making a visible effort to collect

his thoughts. His aides wondered if he could mention the campaign pace: he spoke managed only two events each day and, during the fast week, he took an afternoon off in Toronto for a suit fitting.

Meanwhile, the New Democrats were seeing more words of failure problems. Hearing their polls, but without consulting their strategy committee, new Leader Edward Broadbent and chief of staff George Solomon dropped all reference to free trade during the opening news conference. Journalists noted the omission—and Broadbent was put on the defensive for several critical days. Finally, after several painful days of mentioning free trade, the party recovered its sense of course, competent but not dynamic, almost oblivious to the other campaign: every day, Broadbent made an

When you've got it, flute it.



Methode Champenoise

announcement, viewing it Winnipeg as across superlatives, positioning in Windsor, Ont. to increase family allowances.

But, along the way, there was a telling mistake. In Brandon on Oct. 13, Broadbent predicted the demise of the Liberal party, a prophecy that galvanized Liberal partisans and brought heads streaming into Liberal coffins. Broadbent himself strengthened that mistake moments after the interview, he said on a radio "I guess we are going to be in trouble on that one."

Initially, few star strategists seemed about this lockstep campaign because the party was making slow progress in the polls, edging an second place in the high 30s. Then, during the Oct. 20 to 22 weekend, party strategists came to a stunning realization: the Conservatives were heading toward a massive majority as the official opposition, the star would have only 40 to 50 seats.

THE TV DEBATES

For those leaders, the televised debates—in French on Oct. 24 and in English on Oct. 25—were critical: an estimated six million voters would scrutinize their gestures, their answers, their character. The Conservatives did not anticipate that none of the debates. Instead, Mulroney received a special briefing book that set out the issues, the likely questions and the suggested slogans. Then Tory aides and a parade of experts, including former deputy minister of finance Stanley Hart, briefed him. The result, said a senior strategist, was that the Prime Minister "drowned in facts," losing his focus, his fire. When the debates began and he was subjected to repeated hammering from Turner about the free trade deal, he could not collect himself, marshaled his facts or counter his passing.

The WH also decided that Broadbent required no rehearsals for the debate. Instead, they ran assembled a briefing book that included details on complicated issues, accessible facts that might score debating points and a reminder: keep repeating that the Tories are on the side of the ordinary voter. Broadbent did not see the lines and, with the exception of the opening statement, he rarely mentioned the ordinary voter. Instead, he appeared querulous, ill-tempered, almost petulant.

It was left to the long-exiled Turner to win the debates—after two grueling days of taping rehearsals and staying briefing books. With breathtaking passion, he concentrated on the free trade issue, raising questions about provisions for social security programs, for banks, for retirement policy. When he glared at Mulroney and declared, "You have sold us out," he reversed the course of the election.

Polls already suggested that more Canadians opposed the free trade deal than supported it. A Gallup poll released on Oct. 23, for one, showed that 43 per cent opposed the deal, 34 per cent supported it. Turner began the campaign for the opposition. Private Goldblatt polling after the debates noted if the leaders did better or worse or the same as expected in Quebec, after the French language debates, 37 per cent

said that Turner did better than expected while 10 per cent said that Turner did worse than expected, for a net rating of 27 per cent. Broadbent's net rating was three per cent. Mulroney's was zero. The next night, after the English-language debates, Turner received a stunning rating of 44 per cent.

OCT. 26 TO NOV. 10

The next 15 days belonged to Turner. Inevitably, infused with new hope and new pride, he barraged the nation, campaigning against free trade. He stood on the fact that, during the English debate, Mulroney said that the trade deal could be completed with no member's notice. As Goldblatt said, "Mulroney threatened

to outline a structure for a future Prime Minister's Office, to examine the constitutional options in a majority situation. Meanwhile, although Turner tried to catch his partners, he reminded us as a promise that he would remove former Liberal cabinet minister David Mervin, an advocate of free trade, from his post as Canada's high commissioner in London.

Aware of the party's momentum, the Liberal strategy committee attempted to exploit it. Goldblatt polls suggested that few Canadians knew about the Tory policy for a national sales tax. But 75 per cent of the voters who understood the tax disliked it. As well, Goldblatt polls showed that 96 per cent of the voters had never heard of the Liberal's 40-point program.



President (left) and wife, Lucie, with Nakasawa in lockstep campaign

free trade. He was prepared to sell it out if it was politically expedient. It reminded people, does he really have convictions? In contrast, Turner looked, for the first time, exhausted, dedicated to a concept. He did not need notes to speak from the heart."

That message was not lost on the voters. The Liberals scored ahead of the Tories in three private polls, gaining enough support to form a minority government. Most important, Turner's rating on competence that from nine per cent to 30, just below Mulroney's. The co-chairman of the Liberal transition team, Senator Jack Austin and strategist David MacNaughton, the chairman of Public Affairs Research Group, a consulting conglomerate, hastily conducted their first two meetings in Austin's office in Ottawa. MacNaughton began

Among the remaining 10 per cent, most could identify only the housing program, the anti-free-trade stand and the locked-key vote announcement. As a result, the strategy committee urged Turner to open a second front, to attack the sales tax, to revive the 40-point program. Halfheartedly, Turner agreed. But, perhaps because of the lack of passion on these topics, perhaps because few journalists paid attention, his campaign remained content on free trade.

Meanwhile, the Tories were scrambling to recover. In the wake of the aftermath of the debate, Gregg, campaign chairman Senator Norman Atkins, chief of staff Derek Barry and policy planners chairman Senator Lowell Murray and that Mulroney padlocked well. Only campaign spokesman Hugh Segal was



THE NEW FRAGRANCE FOR MEN

YVES SAINT LAURENT

the Bay

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

BUSINESS BUYS A POWERFUL VOICE



The publications and advertisements by special-interest groups became one of the dominant—and most hotly debated—issues of the election. From protesters and opponents of free trade to critics of nuclear submarines, outside advertisers filled the seven-week 1988 election campaign with an unprecedented vengeance. And in the aftermath, the head of the federal election office told Maclean's that courts should be placed on the picture, while one of the leading participants vowed to fight any change to the law.

Unleashed: Previously, the Canada Elections Act had prohibited paid political advertising by interest groups and individuals to support or challenge candidates during an election. But in 1984, the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench struck down that prohibition—and this year, the special-interest groups, unfettered by the spending limits imposed on political parties and candidates, poured millions of dollars into issue-oriented advertising. Much of it revolved around the free-trade agreement. In one department, the previously nonpartisan Tourism Industry Association of Canada read \$25,000 from its members for pro-free-trade ads in Ontario and Quebec newspapers during the last week of the campaign. David Somerville, president of the right-wing National Citizens' Coalition (NCC), which launched the 1984 challenge to the election's act restrictions, insisted, "It was largely the efforts of private citizens which helped put free trade and the Conservative party over the top."

Freeing: But the role of special-interest groups raised difficult questions—particularly because the ads often blurred the line between support of an issue and support of a party. While most political observers and politicians agree that special-interest groups should not be allowed during an election campaign, chief electoral officer Justice Maclean has expected to retreat after 22 years at the helm and strict elections—and that campaign spending rules should not be compromised by well-heeled outsiders, especially those who appear to be brooking for specific parties. "It introduces an element of unfairness," he said.

In light of the widespread concern is the fear that groups with extensive financial resources could heavily influence the outcome of an election—or at least the direction of a campaign. Says Queen's University political scientist John Mervin: "People with lots of money can influence more than those without a lot of money. It is not at the public's interest."

Among the groups advertising during the campaign was the anti-free-trade Pro-Canada Network, an organization of unions, church groups, and cultural and artistic representatives. The network spent an estimated \$750,000 to fight the trade agreement—and the Conservative government. In response, the large pro-free-trade business community in

nity used its power and money to secure an agreement that was in its own interests—not ordinary Canadians' "It was capitalism's first hour in defense of its own," said Lewis. "They went out to influence the course of the election with massive expenditures."

In the wake of the 1988 campaign, both the Liberals and the PCs are expected to pressure



Maclean's advertising by nonprofit groups 'introduces an element of unfairness'

Canada countered by creating a loosely defined organization called the Canadian Alliance for Free Trade and Job Opportunities—representing 30 companies and business associations—and spent an estimated \$1.5 million on its own ad campaign.

Misleading: Louis Wells, a member of the alliance's executive committee and public affairs director for Montreal-based Akasik Industries Ltd., said "We could not believe how horribly misleading the information was and we felt that it could not go unchallenged. People have a right to speak not during a campaign."

But Stephen Lewis, former leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party and former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, said that the business commu-

the Conservatives to outlaw the problem of outside advertising by introducing amendments to the election act. For his part, Maclean said that unless present groups are regulated, the current campaign spending laws will become pointless. But the NCC's Somerville told Maclean's that his organization would challenge in the courts any attempts to restrict spending by special-interest groups during the campaign. In fact, the prickly problem of finding a solution without limiting freedom of speech could emerge again—as time for the next election.

TEHRILLA PEDRERO and MARC CLARR in Ottawa



WHEN ONLY THE FINEST WILL DO



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DESIGNED TO LEAVE LITTLE NOTHING ON EARTH

COVER



Peterson (left) and Bourassa: closer ties between Quebec City and Ottawa

STRENGTH IN THE HEARTLAND

HOW THE TORIES SWEEP QUEBEC



It was a remarkable demonstration of Conservative strength in the heartland of Canada. During 11 hours of voting on Nov. 21, Quebecers sent to the polls—and across nation that the Tories 1984 sweep of their province had not been an isolated incident. By electing 63 Conservatives and just 12 Liberals, Quebec showed that it was no longer the Liberal fiefdom it had been since 1936. In Ontario, the Conservatives lost ground from their strong of 63 at the province's 95 seats in 1984. But even with the Liberals capitalizing on voter concerns about free trade, the Tories still won 66 seats, while the Liberals took 43 and the rest 10 of the province's 99 preconfederation seats.

For the two Liberal premiers, there was also much at stake. Quebec's Robert Bourassa had

supposedly supported the Conservatives' free trade deal. By contrast, David Peterson of Ontario publicly denounced the agreement and lost key members of his political operation to the campaign of federal Liberal leader John Turner. And a war of words erupted during the campaign between Peterson and Terry Sturges of St. Lawrence Bowdoin—who accused Peterson of opposing free trade because Ontario did not want to lose its economic preeminence in Canada. Now, the election results will likely strengthen the already close ties between Bourassa and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney—and could spell trouble for Peterson. Said one party staff member: "There is a feeling that the 'biggest loser' next to John Turner, might have been David Peterson."

Still, some analysts said that Peterson may have cut his losses toward the end of the campaign by going on a one-week official trip to

South Korea and Japan instead of actively campaigning for the Liberals. Last week, both Peterson and Bourassa raised (owed) some kind of reconciliation. The two men emerged from lunch at a Toronto restaurant to say that they continued to enjoy a "very friendly" relationship. And they both reaffirmed their commitment to the Meech Lake constitutional accord, which recognizes Quebec as a "distinct society" within Canada.

Snaping: But free trade differences still overshadowed the show of solidarity. In Ontario, opinion polls had showed that slightly more voters supported the deal than favored it. But late in the campaign, business leaders joined forces to mount a costly campaign in support of the agreement. Norman McLaren, chairman of the Liberals' Ontario campaign, claimed that effort with snaping the tide in the Tories' favor. Said McLaren: "I think that delay was cross about the trade agreement. But if you get a letter from your employer saying that your job was in jeopardy unless free trade went through, wouldn't you be concerned?"

By contrast, free trade and the Tories enjoyed widespread support among opinion leaders in Quebec, including Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parson. And some voters may have harbored a lingering resentment of the former Liberal hold on Quebec: Hélène Levesque-Norey, the vice candidate in St-Jovite-le-Bas, east of Montreal, said that during the campaign's last week many people told her they had considered voting Tory. But, she added, "they had decided to vote Conservatives because they did not want the Liberals back."

Maverick: Perhaps the most interesting election result was the Tories' performance at the Liberal bastion of Montreal. Bouchard, who usually was his northern Quebec riding of Les Seigneurs, had said that the Conservatives hoped only "to establish a beachhead" in Montreal. Indeed, the Tories captured 14 of its 32 ridings, compared with 11 previously. And in Toronto, where Tory organizers had anticipated huge losses, their showing was still relatively strong. Indeed, Conservative candidates won new seats of 33 in Toronto—they had previously held 18—compared with the Liberals' 12 seats and the New Democrats' two.

Bourassa and Mulroney must say soon are the first besides from their support of the Tories. Montreal and Ottawa are competing to become the site of a proposed federal space agency. But on Nov. 21, Ottawa elected five Liberals—and no Conservatives. Last week, a senior policy adviser to Mulroney said that the election results "will make it a lot easier to decide" which city was the prize. Nevertheless, Terry MP Donald Beshers was even more forthright: "If Ottawa voters felt neglected before, they don't know the meaning of the word," he declared. The Prime Minister's Office quickly issued Bourassa's statement. But if the space agency does in fact go to Montreal, it would certainly be seen as a sign of Tory gratitude for Bourassa's timely support.

MARC CLARK is in Ottawa with LISA RAY DODSON in Montreal



Ron CARIOCA

A TASTE OF THE ISLANDS.



PEOPLE

WOMEN WHO LOVE APES

A surprising number of women share a strong affinity for apes, says author Emily Hahn, 63, who became fascinated with them 59 years ago. In her new collection of essays, *Din and the Apes*, Hahn, who used to own chimpanzees, tells the stories of nine women who share her mother's interest in the primates. The *American* editor writes about such fellow ape-lovers as American Beauty Portman, who trained her gorilla Koko to communicate with sign language. Says Hahn of the ape-loving women: "There is the silly kind who can't bear snakes and spiders."

Sinful fame

A radio star of the 1960s is now on a Toronto stage preaching about the joys of love and fortune. Denny Doherty, 48, once lead singer of the popular group *The Mamas and the Papas*, plays a preacher in the musical *Pity—Based loosely on the lives of rock singer Jerry Lee Lewis and his cousin, televangelist Jimmy Swaggart*. The *Rabbit* native says that he does not miss singing a Hollywood monster or hosting "wild Thursday parties." But he adds that he sympathizes with the young singer in the play, who is unable to cope with success. "A crazy world suddenly opens up to you—after all, you can't go to the circus and not eat my candy," Goherty says. For his part, the performer—now busy with his second wife and their two children in a modest suburban home near Toronto—says that he has stopped playing the concert circuit. Added Doherty: "I realized that touring was taking over my entire life, and I just didn't want that to happen."

Doherty preaching sermons

CLASSICALLY MODERN

Internationally acclaimed violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter, 34, plays mostly 19th-century classical music as her 1733 Stradivarius violin. But when she puts down her bow, she turns into a modern girl-wire. Born in the West German city of Rheinfelden near the Swiss border, she keeps a luxury apartment in Monte Carlo and drives a white Porsche 961. Onstage she wears fashionable low-cut, off-the-shoulder designer gowns instead of the black dresses traditionally worn by female concert soloists. This week Mutter will be able to view the architectural wonders for the first time when she will visit Quebec City for a recital, followed by performances in Montreal and Toronto. Next April, she will return to perform with orchestras in Montreal, Vancouver and Ottawa, part of her schedule of about 120 dates each year. With that many appearances, Mutter says that she needs a wide variety of outfits. "Never in my life would I go onstage in a dress which is not beautiful."

Mutter: choosing traditional black dresses



Embrace the work of professionals

THE IMPACT OF IMAGE

Although she is often cast as an on-screen 'n' roller, Seattle pop singer Sherry Stringfield says that she has to work at playing the part of a sex symbol. But the impact is undeniable. When the 28-year-old two-time Grammy award winner appeared on TV's *Miami Vice* as a rock singer-clubber last year, the show got the women's highest ratings. Stringfield says that her unusual look on the screen—most recently exhibited in her new rock video, *The Lover in Me*—is more the work of makeup artists than nature. Added Stringfield: "Deliberately, I don't look so great when I wake up in the morning."



Classical music: Fanny Le May

Learning lessons out of school

Famous *People* magazine director Diane Disney says that her education started long after she dropped out of high school. In her autobiography, *Dare to Dream*, the *Hamilton, Ont.*, native says that when she and a group of the essentially home-schooled friends formed the now-famous puppet theatre company in 1974, they were "labeled as people who can't make it." But, adds Disney, 40, "The puppet teach a lesson we'd all do well to learn."

REBEL REPUBLICS

The gathering of the Soviet Union's ruling Politburo in Moscow last week was described by the official news agency TASS as "a regular meeting," but some of the events discussed were anything but ordinary. From the western flank of the Baltic republics to the country's farthest southern states, ordinary Soviet citizens protested, fought and killed each other. In Armenia and Azerbaijan on the country's southern periphery, local authorities declared a state of emergency after their soldiers were killed and more than 100 people were injured in rioting. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of

NATIONALISM AMONG THE MANY ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE REGIONS IS A THREAT TO SOVIET UNITY

size endures of Nagorno-Karabakh—a region controlled by Azerbaijan since 1993—although the Supreme Soviet earlier this year rejected Armenia's request. Meanwhile, riots and strikes by Armenians and Azerbaijanis between the two groups have continued.

Last week's fresh outbreak of violence was the worst since early spring, when 32 people died in three days of rioting. The new troubles began with Azerbaijan charges that Armenia was strengthening the ethnic population of Nagorno-Karabakh by settling in large numbers of soldiers and building new plants and barracks for Armenian workers. They also



disseminated in the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were joined by more than 300,000 residents of the southern republic of Georgia in publicly protesting against planned constitutional changes. Following the closed Politburo meeting last Thursday, TASS declared that the members "hotly and widely shared public interest in these matters."

That day proclamation did not mask the concern in Moscow over granting nationalist pressures in many of the Soviet Union's 15 constituent republics. With members of the Supreme Soviet planning to meet this week to discuss constitutional changes that would limit the power of the republic's legislatures, the Kremlin faces opposition from its already emboldened plans. Armenians and Azerbaijanis, who have killed more than 40 people in rioting over the past 30 months, now seem to imply upon Moscow's appeals for calm. Azerbaijan's official newspaper warned that the two republics were now in "open confrontation."

These internal problems were particularly concerning to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at a time when he is attempting to ease the country's image abroad. Gorbachev will visit the United States, where he will meet with President Ronald Reagan and presidential adviser George Bush, in early December. He will also make the first speech by a Soviet

leader to the United Nations in nearly 30 years. The scale of the violence in Armenia and Azerbaijan threatened the Kremlin's apparent openness in coping with a danger that has been simmering for decades. About 500,000 ethnic Armenians live in Azerbaijan, which has a total population of 6.6 million. The root of the problem lies in bitter differences between the largely Christian Armenians and the Muslim Azerbaijanis. Armenia has repeatedly pressed for the secession of the largely ethnic Azeri-

complemented that Azerbaijanis in the area was being deprived of food, work and medical supplies. An handful of thousands of Azerbaijanis began to march in protest. Soviet soldiers and tanks were called in to the cities of Karabakh, Nakhichevan and the capital of Baku, where they launched protective gangs around ethnic Armenian neighborhoods. They also closed all roads between the two republics and declared a curfew in major Azerbaijan cities.

At the same time that those measures were



Azerbaijani protest (left), Armenians in Moscow, confrontation

taking effect, an Azerbaijan foreign ministry official reported that Azerbaijan units had killed an army lieutenant and two privates. In Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, more than 500,000 people gathered at a counterprotest. Finally, a state of emergency was declared. On Friday, Gorbachev said that his reform policies were allowing people to express their problems more freely. He added that he wants Soviet leaders to meet with both sides to find a solution. By week's end, the official death toll in the conflict stood at six, but unofficial sources put it much higher.

Soviet nationalists also faced widespread protests in four other republics. At issue are planned changes to the existing Soviet constitution that critics say would restrict the right of individual republics to self-determination. On Nov. 16, Estonia's parliament voted overwhelmingly to declare the republic sovereign from Moscow in all areas except defense and foreign policy. The legislature also declared their right to approve any new Soviet laws. Although the Latvian and Lithuanian parliaments refused to pass similar legislation, those seeks of citizens demonstrated a fear of the Russian measures.

The recent storm of nationalist protests drew a sharp reaction from Moscow. Gorbachev said that Estonian protests were part of "the process of perestroika" (economic reform) that, he warned, "there are some points of view I would not accept; they are not in the process of perestroika." Following his remarks, a Supreme Soviet legislative panel recommended changes that would water down the proposed constitutional amendments, which will be voted on this week.

Last week, Baltic nationalists received help from an unexpected source. On Wednesday,

the Supreme Soviet of the republic of Georgia announced the draft of the Kremlin's amendments and voted to introduce "changes that are demanded by the public." As the legislators met, about 300,000 people demonstrated outside.

Still, there were clear warnings of strong opposition to the Baltic-led push for increased autonomy. The parliaments of their other neighbors passed resolutions supporting the Kremlin's constitutional changes. The parliament of Kazakhstan declared that the Estonian legislature was "in total with the norms of the constitution and weakened the economic basis of the Soviet national unity."

Many Moscow-based diplomats say that the Kremlin has reached a watershed in its efforts to deal with growing nationalism. The Soviet Union has more than 100 ethnic and language groups, and Soviet citizens of Russian origin now compose barely half of the country's population. By the end of this century, that figure is expected to drop to about 40 percent, against ethnic Russians in the majority and increasing pressure for greater ethnic power. With ethnic unrest spreading, Western diplomats say that Gorbachev faces one of the most severe tests of his leadership. Last year, Gorbachev described ethnic tensions as "the most fundamental, vital issue of our society." Because of that, many people believe that he will act soon to demonstrate control of the situation. Said a Moscow-based diplomat: "Gorbachev did not become leader by being the sort of person who would preside over the disintegration of the Soviet Union." That is a crucial reminder for believers in a united Soviet Union—and also for those who wish to divide it.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH is in Moscow.

World Notes

ISRAEL'S PAINTER, DEADLOCK

Israel's Likud Party voted to roll off coalition allies with the vote-vice Likud bloc after negotiations over top cabinet posts broke down. Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir was nominated to form a government after Nov. 1 elections failed to produce a clear winner. His first attempt at a coalition, with Orthodox religious allies, failed over their demands for strict religious legislation.

A NEW HUNGARIAN PREMIER

Imre Fenyvesi, an economist and member of the ruling, Communist party Politburo, was elected prime minister of Hungary in parliamentary vote. He replaces Károlyi Gábor, who resigned in order to concentrate on his more important position as Communist party chief.

A SON ON TRIAL

High President Salvador Allende ordered "a proper investigation and trial" of his eldest son, Ugo, 38, jailed for the killing of a presidential aide. Allende said that Ugo struck the aide—who was drunk and firing his pistol in the air during a celebration on Oct. 18—after the man refused in order to get firing.

THE TROOPS RETURN

A second group of Canadian troops—147 members of the 88 Signal Regiment who set up communications for its observation—returned home after conducting the exercise in the eight-year war between Iran and Iraq. The first group of 54 troops returned in October and the remaining 260 are expected back by mid-December.

PUTTING COMPENSATION

Occidental Petroleum Corp. has agreed to pay \$215 million in compensation to victims' families and survivors of the Piper Alpha oil rig disaster. Two Canadians were among the 387 people killed by the July 6 fire in the North Sea.

TESTING FOR AIDS

The British government announced plans to start nation testing for acquired immune deficiency syndrome, or AIDS. Health Secretary Kenneth Clarke said that patients who had voluntarily given blood for reasons unrelated to tests for the AIDS virus would be anonymously tested for the killer disease.

A BURN MESSAGE

Sixty strimmers passed down 22 people in the northern Indian town of Kandahar. The fight for an independent Sikh homeland called Khalistan has claimed more than 2,000 lives this year.



Student riots in Seoul; Chun (below) objections to his dictatorial methods

SOUTH KOREA

An act of contrition

Chun apologizes for his 'shameful deeds'

It was a dramatic moment in South Korea's short but turbulent history. Former president Chun Doo-hwan, 57, went before a television camera last week and publicly apologized for the corruption and brutality of his eight-year-long military regime. "It is more than unbearable for me to have you and cause this confusion of my shameful deeds," said Chun. Blinking back tears, he promised to turn over millions of dollars in personal assets and political funds and to "not shrink from any punishment from you, the people." The son of an uneducated rice-planting farmer who rose to general and then, after a 1979 coup, to president, ended his performance with a stiff bow, saying, "I am truly sorry, my fellow citizens."

Shortly after his address, as an estimated 30 million Koreans watched on TV, Chun was shown leaving his bunker-like downtown Seoul villa—one of three homes he relinquished to the state, along with nearly \$4 million in personal wealth, \$24 million in unpaid political funds and two expensive golf club memberships. Chun's public apology was a decisive moment for the country of 43 million people who exchanged Chun's autocratic rule for democracy in last December's elections. The political survival of current President Roh Tae-woo, 55, a military academy graduate and former protégé of Chun, depends greatly on whether the public accepts the act of repen-

tance or seeks an even more radical purging of the sins of the previous regime. "What has made many people unhappy," said one political observer, "is not only Chun's actions but his defiance, his failure to repent. It is not anxiety they are looking for but humiliation."

Nine months after he relinquished power to Roh last February, Chun appeared clearly humiliated as he and his wife, Lee Sooja, headed for political exile. Late Wednesday, state television showed footage of Chun and his wife being guarded by men around a Buddhist temple in the remote north-eastern town of Iles. The couple is expected to stay at the monastery for a month, where Chun has agreed what he described to a "quiet period of reflection."

In the seven weeks since the Olympics ended in Seoul, Marxist students have intensified their anti-government demonstrations, throwing fire bombs at riot police and calling for the execution of Chun and the ouster of Roh. Meanwhile, Roh's minority government has begun a major political housecleaning. An

ally, middle-class Koreans increasingly objected to his dictatorial methods. In 1980, he ordered the army to brutally suppress an uprising against the imposition of martial law in the southern city of Kwangju. The official number of dead was listed at 193, unofficially at 2,000. He also closed opposition newspapers and was considered indirectly responsible for the deaths of at least 54 inmates at military re-education camps. According to investigators, Chun also embezzled more than \$46 million from endowments for the Blue Foundation, his personal "charity-tank."

A week's end, Roh issued a televised appeal to forgive the former president and promised amnesty for all political detainees jailed by Chun. He also promised compensation to victims of the Kwangju uprising and for those killed or injured in five re-education camps. But his plan failed to win the support of opposition leaders and thousands of dissidents who clashed with riot police in Seoul demanding Chun's arrest. South Korea's two main opposition parties have continued to call for a full investigation. "Roh does not seem to have a

correct understanding of the seriousness of the current situation," said Kim Doo-pang, leader of the largest opposition bloc in parliament. According to a Seoul newspaper last week, 47 percent of respondents said that Chun's apology was insufficient. But for all the criticism, many Koreans seemed hopeful. "The people are strong and mature," said Kim. "They don't want to see political instability again." Kim can only hope that he is right.



RIC DOLPHIN with
JOHN GUTTENBERG in Seoul





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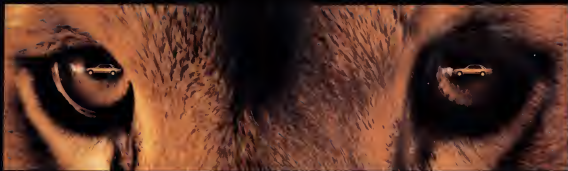


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WORLD

PAKISTAN

Bhutto's long ordeal

Two rivals compete to be named prime minister

It was a frustrating week for Benazir Bhutto as her election campaign swished from massive popular rallies to somnolent political negotiations. Six days after her Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won the greatest number of seats in National Assembly elections—but fell short of a majority—Bhutto spent two hours at the presidential palace in Islamabad trying to convince acting President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to nominate her as prime minister. Later, Khan also met with Bhutto's

Khan's reluctance to nominate a prime minister was likely the reaction of a cautious bureaucrat trying to avoid social unrest in a country that has had little experience with party politics—and where the PPP and its longtime rival led election campaigns. Said one western diplomat, who spoke on condition that he not be identified: "It's a right to proceed carefully and let's do it within the constitution." But critics charged that the delay revealed a bias in the part of Khan, ally of Gen-

Muhammad Zia ul-Haq—the former president who died in a mysterious plane crash last August—because it gives the PPP an order opportunity to regroup. At a news conference last Wednesday, Bhutto claimed that the PPP, which includes many Zia loyalists, is using official means to lure and blackmail independent members of parliament into joining the conservative alliance. She added, "Even some officials have been on the telephone asking threats."

A spokesman for the PPP denied the charges. And Sharif declared that it would be "simply unfair" for Khan to appoint as prime minister the leader who led the most seats in the assembly but not a majority. He added, "The only relevant reality is the ability of anyone to demonstrate their majority on the floor of the House."

Under the Pakistani constitution, Khan has to nominate a prime minister who can command a majority in parliament. His choice does not necessarily have to be Bhutto, even though her party captured 83 seats in the 227-seat assembly on Nov. 14, far ahead of the rival 55-seat In-It, in provincial elections held three days later. The PPP did not perform as well, and that seemed to weaken the party's ability to forge political alliances in the assembly. Still, 35-year-old Bhutto—a Harvard and Oxford-trained political scientist—held two important meetings last week that seemed to improve her chances of governing.

Immediately after her meeting with Khan, Bhutto visited the home of army chief of staff Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, an important power broker after 11 years of de facto army rule. She spent three hours with Beg but emerged flustered about their talks. Bhutto later said that some elements in the army still mistrusted the PPP and feared that she would interfere in army promotions. But she said that she was con-



Bhutto charges of coercion and bribery

stant civil, Nawaz Sharif, leader of the opposition conservative Islamic Democratic Alliance (ISA). Both leaders claim that they can form a majority with the support of small parties and independent members of the assembly. But according to Bhutto, Khan said that he would not choose a prime minister until after the new parliament convenes, this 30 seats reserved for women and elects a speaker early in December. An angry Bhutto declared that Khan's delay gave her opponents the opportunity to use corruption and to misuse public lands in their efforts to form a coalition. Said Bhutto: "We won the election, and democracy was promised. So why is there any hesitation now?"

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WORLD

destiny was committed to a peaceful transfer of power.

Last Friday, Bhutto also met with U.S. Ambassador Robert Oakley. The United States has been an increasingly important Pakistani ally since the Soviet Union invaded neighboring Afghanistan in 1979. Oakley did not comment on his discussions with Bhutto. But after the visit, political analysts said that her nomination as prime minister looked more certain. "It seems that the green light has been given."

Still, Bhutto's mood worsened the setback in the Nov. 19 provincial elections. The vote for 182 seats in four provincial assemblies has no direct bearing on who becomes prime minister. But observers said that the results could have a major influence on the two parties' maneuver to form majority coalitions. The provincial governments have considerable powers, controlling important functions such as the police, education, health and rural development funds. The PPP won 46 per cent of the provincial seats, compared to the 45 per cent it captured in the National Assembly, while the PML won 32 per cent previously, compared to the 27 per cent it garnered nationally. More importantly, the PML appeared to win a clear lead in the Punjab province, where Shaukat is chief minister of the provincial government and where more than half of Pakistan's 105 million people live. Shaukat's party did better in the provinces of Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier. And the PPP was clear control of its home province of Sindh.

Winning Sindh, Pakistan's second-largest province, could become a useful bargaining chip for Bhutto in negotiations with the third-largest party in the National Assembly, the Muslim National Movement. After meeting with Mueen leader Abdul Hussain early last week, Bhutto said that the PPP has many views in common with Hussain's party. The two leaders agreed to set up a joint committee to discuss outstanding issues. A coalition with the Mueen, who hold 12 seats in the National Assembly, would bring the PPP close to the 100 members it needs for a majority. But by midweek, neither Hussain nor any of the other small parties had declared their allegiance to Bhutto.

While it seemed likely that Bhutto will ultimately be chosen, that may be just the beginning of her battle to govern Pakistan. If she is nominated prime minister—the first woman ever to lead an Islamic republic—she will have 60 days to win a parliamentary vote of confidence. But she will always have to fight to maintain her majority coalition, and Asfiah Kasper, a political scientist at the University of Waterloo in Ontario and an expert in South Asian affairs, Bhutto will have to balance conflicting interests as she attempts to fulfil her election promise to help the poor without offending loyal landowners, big business—or the military. Since Kasper, "She will be walking on eggs." And last week, Bhutto seemed to be getting experience doing just that.

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THE UNITED STATES

A cabinet for the 1990s

Bush starts to shape his administration

From election day in November to inauguration day on Jan. 20, a presidential-elect has about 11 weeks to form the next administration. Throughout the recent election campaign, George Bush repeatedly said that he wanted a new team in Washington. And even though cozy Washington insiders predict a continuation of President Reagan's conservative agenda, Bush has been steadily choosing candidates to fill thousands of patronage jobs and senior positions in government departments, agencies and embassies. A Bush spokesman said that, by January, 90 per cent of Reagan's 2,000 political appointees will be fired and replaced. "Partly, the vice-president is rewarding people who have been loyal to him," said a spokesman for the Bush transition team. "He wants to bring in people he's comfortable with." Added John Tretener, a former state department spokesman under President Jimmy Carter: "People leaving generally want to pass on thousands of good employees, advice and better stories, but the new team wants to overturn the wheel."

Still, as the six cabinet-level appointments he has made so far, Bush has kept around familiar faces. On Nov. 9, he chose former treasury secretary, and his campaign chairman, James Baker to be his secretary of state. And on May 15, he announced that Nicholas Brady would remain treasury secretary. Last week, Bush made four more appointments: former Baker deputy Richard Darman will be budget director, Richard Danzig will remain attorney general, Louis Cantor will stay on as secretary of education, and Brent Scowcroft will return to the national security adviser job he held under president Gerald Ford. Holding over a few cabinet members for continuity and reappointing some of them is a safe way for Bush to put his own stamp on the new administration while reassuring jittery domestic markets that he will be conservative in method as well as philosophy.

This year, the Bush transition team has received a rash of advice from members of think-tanks in keeping with a growing Washington phenomenon. Every last year, think tanks put out special reports dealing with the transition. Former presidents Carter and Ford, co-chairman of American Agenda, a bipartisan group, last week advised Bush to tackle the

\$190-billion deficit by raising taxes. And the conservative Heritage Foundation recently delivered about 2,500 *hours* of conservative policy-makers to Bush headquarters. Tretener's own Washington think tank, the Center for Excellence in Government, published a 600-



Common shifts: Bush, Darman and Thornburgh considering Jimmy Stewart's pickings

page guide to political appointments. Called *The Power Book*, it dissects at depth over 100 of the top administration jobs below cabinet rank, explaining the qualities and qualifications needed for each. It was mailed in response to the so-called *Plum Book*, published each election year by the government, which lists 3,000 patronage jobs that a new president can fill.

The most influential among the think-tanks at Republicans Washington is the Heritage Foundation. "From taxes to foreign policy to right to life," said a White House spokesman, "our alarmists and advisers have been very helpful." Heritage senior vice-president, Paul Farris added that "40 per cent of 1,200 recommendations made to President Reagan were acted upon at the first year." But Farris "He called for a rollback of the Soviet empire

in Nicaragua, Angola and Afghanistan, and it became the Reagan doctrine." His group has already sent advance copies of its new advice book—*Manila for Leadership III*—to 30 Bush transition team leaders.

Some analysts claim that the practice of making thousands of political appointments every four years leads to unbridled or unequipped individuals assuming high office. Critics point to the long list of more than 240 Reagan appointees—many of them in low profile posts—who became embroiled in controversy over their ethical behavior. Even high-ranking officials laid aside ethics laws. Among the most prominent former attorney general Edwin Meese and White House aides Michael Deaver and Lyn Nofziger.

Flaunted in part by the so-called silver

factor of the Reagan years, the 100th Congress recently passed new federal ethics legislation that would impose tough new restrictions on lobbying by senior public officials after they leave office. But Reagan announced last week that he would veto the bill on the grounds that it would keep qualified people from joining the government. Before departing for his Kennebunkport, Me. home for the Thanksgiving holiday, Bush also circulated the bill, saying that he intends to propose his own ethics legislation early next year. Still, with about 3,000 political appointments to make in the coming weeks, Bush clearly realizes that he must deal with the plaza with a pitiless hand.

ANDREW DESKE with AEN BAKER in Washington



Drilling for oil off Canada's East Coast: tough negotiations on controversial free trade issues still lie ahead

BUSINESS

STOKING UP TRADE

For Canada's business community, the election outcome promised more polarization than usual. After one of the most bitterly contested federal elections in decades, business leaders optimistically interpreted the anticipated benefits of free trade with the United States: increased sales, revenues and profits and less interference from protectionist U.S. congressmen and lobby groups. After scoring its highest level in almost seven years last week, the Canadian dollar closed the week at 89.83 cents (U.S.), compared with 83.27 a week ago. But two days after the election, American-owned Gillette Canada Inc. announced it will close plants in Montreal and Toronto, leaving 805 people jobless. Although the company maintained that the closures are part of a worldwide reorganization, Canadian economists charged that Gillette's departure is just the start of an American exodus from Canada under free trade. And the Ottawa-based Council of Canadians, a coalition of anti-free-trade groups, called for a boycott of Gillette products.

While the upsurge over the Gillette closures distracted the attention of the free trade issue in Canada, most business leaders admitted last week that the economic benefits of the agree-

THE FREE TRADE DEBATE RAGES ON IN THE WAKE OF THE DECISIVE CONSERVATIVE ELECTION VICTORY

ment will occur gradually over a period of several years. They pointed out that tariff and non-tariff barriers will be reduced or eliminated in places and that further negotiation will be required to deal with controversial issues such as regional, recreational, agricultural standards and trade in services. U.S. exports in international trade experienced similar sentiments last year, that tough negotiations lay ahead for both countries. Said Washington-based trade lawyer Stewart Baker: "What we have now is a good frame work for free trade."

While Canadian businessmen plot their free-

trade strategies over the next several months, trade officials at both governments will be preoccupied with setting up the numerous committees and working groups required to implement the agreement. As well, Canadian and American trade negotiators will be attempting to use their bilateral agreement to stimulate the current negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Said Michael Abo, a foreign trade specialist with the New York City-based Council on Foreign Relations: "Canada has struck a blow for trade liberalization and for consumers everywhere."

The election outcome serves as a jolt to a major meeting of the 96 member states of GATT at Montreal starting on Dec. 3, which has been called to review the progress made so far in the latest round of negotiations to lower trade barriers worldwide. Federal government officials estimate that close to 1,000 delegates, including 58 to 60 trade ministers from at least 80 GATT nations will attend the four-day meeting. A spokesman for the multilateral trade negotiations office in Ottawa said that the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement is emblematic to become a proven model for a multilateral treaty. But a well used and powerful capital to

GATT members that progress can be made on such contentious issues as dispute-settlement, intellectual and tariff reductions.

Besides conducting multilateral negotiations through the GATT, the federal government will also continue talking with the United States as provided by the free trade agreement. In fact, Washington-based trade lawyer Robert (Bob) Mendenhall says, despite the upsurge over the deal in Canada it is "only the latest beginning of a free trade agreement." Baker added that Canadian and U.S. negotiators set aside some of the toughest subjects in order to reach an overall agreement. As a result, the agreement calls for the establishment of a working group to develop an economic new set of rules and negotiations on such matters as government subsidies.

It also provides for eight different bilateral committees to harmonize agricultural technical standards, and working groups required to agree to set up joint committees for further negotiations on government procurement, non-agricultural technical standards and trade in services including tourism and architecture. They will also form a select panel of advisors

of product categories with only 100 items under the old schedule. The goods range from metals and furniture to pleasure craft and vending machines. As a result, customs officials will have much less discretion when applying tariffs.

Besides adopting new tariff schedules, both governments will be changing dozens of policies, regulations and administrative practices in order to comply with the trade agreement. Richard Desrochers, an international trade lawyer with Toronto-based Gowling and Stoddart, said that U.S. trade negotiators Clayton Venturi now has his firm's attention on changes that will be necessary in Canadian regulations because of the trade act. Venturi was scheduled to file it with Congress by Nov. 27. Desrochers said that among the dozens of pending changes would be a lowering of the threshold for public trading of government contracts. The GATT code stipulates that a contract worth more than \$120,000 must be open for public bid, but the free trade agreement lowers that threshold to \$25,000 (U.S.). A federal government source said that the Canadian government based these Washington-



Garment manufacturing in Quebec: Rydberg Textile complex new order

industry experts who will provide advice on administrative policy.

Even without these future negotiations, the business communities in both countries will experience immediate changes as the government policies and regulatory requirements affecting them. By Jan. 1, 1989, Canada and the United States will have adopted a new harmonized system of tariff schedules developed as a result of an agreement reached during the Tokyo round of GATT negotiations that concluded in 1979. Gordon Racher, Canada's former deputy chief negotiator in the free trade talks, said that in some cases the new schedules contain up to 800 items under one type

based on firms to conduct a similar review of American regulations. These changes were made in the House of Commons last June when the government introduced Bill C-130, the legislation to implement the agreement in Canada.

Several Canadian firms are already calculating the potential benefits. James Barker, president of Calgary-based Norm Corp., said that a 12.5-percent U.S. tariff on polyethylene pellets, a petrochemical product used in the manufacture of plastics, will be eliminated over five years. Barker predicted that Nova's profits should increase by \$15 million annually starting in 1989. Similarly, John Foley, president of Walle-

Business Notes

TRINCO'S BIG LOSS

Financial Trustco Capital Ltd. reported a \$129.3-million loss for the three months ending on Sept. 30. In October, after the federal, Quebec and Ontario governments provided \$54 million in loans and guarantees, the Toronto-based financial holding company sold its Financial Trust Co. subsidiary to Control City Corp.

MACLEAN HINTS UPS A BID

Michael Hunter Ltd. agreed to increase its offer for Sealed Communications Ltd. to about \$294 million from \$240 million. At the same time, federal competition authorities agreed not to oppose the purchase of the broadcaster and radio station company because of its understanding to sell two TV stations and one radio station, all in Alberta.

PRINCIPAL'S DESTINY?

The investment control subsidiary of Principal Group Ltd. would have sold even if real estate prices in Alberta had not been devastated by the oil industry recession in the early 1980s, according to testimony at the Code inquiry.

THE FLIGHT OF THE DOLLAR

The Canadian dollar scored a win by 1.6 cents against the U.S. dollar in election day as traders anticipated the return of a Progressive Conservative government. After beginning the week at 87.77 cents, it rose after the election and closed Friday in Toronto at 89.83.

A BREAK FOR SERVICES

The federal Employment and Immigration Commission announced that it will appeal a court decision that awarded full unemployment benefits to a 67-year-old Montreal woman who lost her job two years ago. If the Supreme Court upholds the ruling, 375,000 working people aged 65 or over could be entitled to full benefits.

HEADED FOR THE TOP

Quebecers earned the second-highest average per-capita incomes within Western industrialized countries last year, according to statistics released by the United States Central Intelligence Agency. At \$16,434, Quebecers were second only to U.S. citizens, who earned an average of \$16,374.

A NEW BRITISH RELIGION

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher announced that her government intends to sell off state-owned water and electricity utilities by the end of next year.



best Chateau Pinot Foods Inc., and that the plant's elimination of U.S. tariffs in processed seafood, which range from 15 to 45 per cent will allow the company to expand its processing capacity in Canada. Because of quotas limiting the use of each company's catch, secondary processing is the only avenue for growth in Canadian revenues.

But the removal of U.S. tariffs will mean that Chateau, which shipped unprocessed fish to the United States to avoid high tariffs, could now expand its Canadian processing facilities and ship much more manufactured and higher-value product into the east American market.

Among Canadian exporting manufacturers there is scarcely a hint of optimism as they contemplate free trade. Last January the board of directors of the Canadian Apparel Manufacturers Institute predicted that close to half of the 138,000 jobs in the industry could be wiped out as a result of the free trade agreement.

As well, Peter Noyard, president of Toronto-based Noyard International Inc., and that restrictions on the use of labor from third countries will create an administrative nightmare.

Said Noyard: "There will be as much of paperwork." Canadian wine-makers are preparing for an equally grim future under free trade. Provincial liquor boards across Canada, except in the three Prairie provinces, have protected domestic wine-makers by signifi-

cantly marking up the prices of foreign wines. Quebec, British Columbia, New Scotia and New Brunswick will phase out the price mark-ups over a seven-year period, and Norman Smith, executive vice-president of Anheuser-Busch Ltd. in Ottawa, Ont. Said Smith: "It's definitely going to hurt our sales."



Picking grapes in Ontario's Niagara region; some sectors at risk

But free trade will make certain parts of the country more attractive to foreign investors. James Marlin, president of the Business Council of British Columbia, and that during the federal election, investors from Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand informed the council that they would be much more interested in British Columbia if the trade deal were accepted.

Although the treaty will not formally

effect until at least Jan. 1, 1988, agreements were quick to blame free trade for work for the Gillette closures. The plant's 600 employees produce razor blades, disposable razors and Paper Mate pens. Shirley Carr, president of the Canadian Labor Congress and Liberal trade critic Lloyd Axworthy both said that the closures were a direct result of free trade. But Ronald Rosen, Boston-based president of Gillette's North American blade and razor division, denied any connection between the closures and free trade. He noted that the company has cut its worldwide workforce by 3,600—to about 28,000—since 1987 as part of a general reorganization. Rosen added that Gillette has closed plants in America, Argentina, Brazil, Britain and Australia.

Whatever the outcome of the controversy over the Gillette closures, some observers predict that it is a taste of things to come. That every time a plant closes or a business fails, someone will blame free trade. Similarly, the government and its supporters will try to credit free trade for positive economic developments. But, according to international trade experts and many business leaders, the changes wrought by free trade will be evolutionary, rather than revolutionary.

D'ARCY JENNIE with JON DAILY in Toronto and WILLIAM LOWMYER in Philadelphia

SETTING A GOOD EXAMPLE

Although the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement continues to be one of the most polarized debates in Canadian history, a similar pact signed in 1983 between Australia and New Zealand has proven so successful that the countries have agreed to resume all remaining trade barriers a full five years ahead of schedule. Since the signing of the Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relationship Trade Agreement (CER), trade between the two countries has doubled to about \$4 billion a year in 1987 from the 1983 total. As well, New Zealand's once-heavy trade deficit of \$384.7 million with Australia has been almost erased.

There are strong parallels between the controversy over the Canada-U.S. deal and arguments surrounding the implementation of the CER. With fewer than three

million people, New Zealand is dwarfed by Australia's population of 17 million. And, as is the case of Canada and the United States, New Zealanders agreed to free trade only after a tough public debate over the possible dangers of a larger neighbor overwhelming their country. Both agreements also touch almost all sectors of labor's life. But the CER seemed to have extensive ties to the North American pact. The Australia-New Zealand agreement immediately removed most tariffs when it took effect in 1983, while the Canada-U.S. agreement phased out tariffs over 18 years.

Last August, Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke and New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange, their countries separated by 1,200 miles of open sea, agreed to revive the pact at the five-year mark by resolving a number of outstanding trade issues. Under the original pact, most tariff-free barriers were to be phased out over a 10-year period ending in 1996. In the process, they brought the two countries to the brink of becoming a far larger and fully integrated market. Under the revised CER agreement, remaining tariff-free barriers—

including dairy products and bananas—will be phased out by July 1, 1990, instead of 1995 as planned.

Australia and New Zealand also agreed, effective on Jan. 1, 1989, to include such key services industries as banking and many other elements of the financial sector, tourism, advertising, education, health and insurance in their sweeping free trade pact. New Zealand will also be allowed to bid for lucrative Australian government contracts. As well, the two countries have agreed to work toward harmonizing all competition and business laws and reducing the remaining export subsidies and even some expensive industrial-assistance programs. Meanwhile, comments that New Zealand could be swamped, both economically and culturally, by its large neighbor have largely disappeared. Even critics of the deal say that New Zealand has been the big winner so far—despite its size disadvantages.

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BUSINESS

A European revolution

Twelve countries prepare to unite in 1992

It is, at the same time, a date, a sign—a milestone. Across Western Europe, 1992nd has become the rallying cry for a revolution that will mark a profound revolution in the way hundreds of millions of people work, live and trade. By Dec. 31, 1992, the 12 countries of the European Community (EC) plan to merge their economies into a single market of 323 million consumers—a far more radical system than anything even considered by Americans and Canadians in organizing the free trade agreement. In the past several months, the proposals for a united Europe has caught the popular imagination and it is transforming both business planning and political debate in Europe. To those caught up in the new wave of "Europeanism," Europe, by 1992, will finally be restored to the first rank of economic powers, breaking the cycle of stagnation that afflicted the continent for much of the 1970s and early 1980s. Says British Foreign Secretary for Geoffrey Howe, "It has taken up European business and industry."

But when leaders of the 12 EC governments gather later this week in Greece to assess progress on the 1992 plan, they will share a growing concern. Although all are committed by treaty to tearing down remaining barriers to trade, they have become embroiled in a furious public debate over how much sovereignty individual nations should cede to the EC—and what kind of Europe they should build. At the same time, other countries are voicing concerns that the new Europe may be too on one side—creating what critics call a protectionist "Fortress Europe" that could be more hostile to Japanese, American or Canadian products. And inside Europe, there is a growing awareness that 1992 will produce losers as well as winners.

At a conference in London last week, several senior business leaders said that the fierce competition they will follow the removal of all trade barriers will leave as many as half of all businesses in Europe to close within 10 years. Says Percy Barnevik, chairman of the Swedish engineering group ABB, "These are the hard realities behind the new world."

Despite these potential troubles, EC members are meeting the timetable for the 1992 blueprint. EC governments have adopted 107 of

the 270 separate proposals involved in the grand plan—which is aimed at completing the issue of a border-free Europe that led to the foundation of the community in 1957. Member states removed tariffs and quotas in the decade following that historic step, but many other obstacles to Europe-wide trade remained. They include differing technical standards, conflicting health and safety rules, local government procurement policies and customs



London Stock Exchange: a debate over sovereignty and a protectionist "Fortress Europe"

controls. For years, EC countries tried unsuccessfully to harmonize the conflicting regulations, the key difference in the 1992 plan is that member states have agreed to "mutual recognition" of each other's norms and standards. In one case, if a pharmaceutical company gains approval for a new drug in France, it will automatically have the right to market the product in all 12 EC states, without having to meet differing standards in each one.

Although thousands of firms whose shops would make doing business in Europe easier, more efficient—and more profitable. A major study by the European Commission, the Brussels bureaucracy that runs the common market's affairs, concluded that the 1992 measures will increase the output of the EC economies by 4.5 per cent, cut prices by six per cent and create at least 1.8 million new jobs. At the same time, though, the plan will uncer-

tainly protectivist policies that keep many companies in business. At the moment, Europe has 16 companies producing locomotives compared with just two in the United States.

When governments stop lowering local production most of these firms will probably go bankrupt—throwing thousands out of work. In London last week, the British economist who wrote the commission's study, Paulo Cuccia, declared, "It will not be a Christian present for everybody. There will be many painful adjustments."

Added to these economic concerns is a growing political debate over the future shape of Europe. It began in July when commission president Jacques Delors said that within 10 years, the EC would derive 80 per cent of economic and social legislation in member states. And in early September, Delors told a

trade union conference in Britain that the 1992 plan was an opportunity to broaden workers' rights. Both statements outraged British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who delivered a blistering speech in September in Brussels, Belgium, warning the odds that had surrounded public debate over 1992. Thatcher attacked any attempt to form a union, federal Europe as "cynical," and she declared, "We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain only to see them re-opened at a European level, with a European superstate creating a new domination from Brussels."

These opposing views will likely be heard this week at the EC leaders' summit. Commission officials have said that they intend to present the leaders with a cautiously worded proposal for improving social standards in Europe. It recommends more stringent health and safety

standards, as well as greater worker participation in industry after the 1992 plan goes into effect—causation that Delors has advocated. Thatcher, reflecting her government's free-market philosophy as well as concerns among many European employers, is expected to oppose the proposal because it would raise employers' production costs. Other leaders, including West Germany's Helmut Kohl and France's Michel Rocard, will argue that these measures are necessary to persuade unions to accept the job losses and other adjustments that will accompany completion of the single market.

Rocard is proposed to be even more radical. In a recent television interview, the French prime minister added a second argument to what could become a fierce battle between proponents of a so-called social Europe and those—exactly Thatcher—who see 1992 as a major step toward a more decentralized, market-oriented continent. Said Rocard: "What sets Europe apart from the United States and Japan is its structure of social protection. Sacrificing that would be to deny our heritage."

Thatcher has made it clear that she is reluctant to go along with several other key parts of the 1992 plan. She has argued against dismantling border checks—which would be the most visible sign of the new Europe—because, she says, they will still be needed to catch terrorists and drug traffickers. And although all officials maintain that Value Added Taxes (VAT), levies on products at various levels of production and consumption, must be intro-

duced, Thatcher insists that Britain must retain some of its own practices—including exclusion of VAT on books, children's clothes, and food. Other countries share her concerns over VAT, which is one of the most difficult



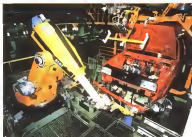
Thatcher favors conflict, opposition

problems in implementing the 1992 plan. Such countries as France and Denmark rely on high VAT rates for a large share of government revenues—and lowering those rates to the European average would devastate their

budgets. The tax issue is complicated by differing social priorities. Northern countries, including Britain, Denmark and the Netherlands, generally impose high consumption taxes on liquor, cigarettes and other so-called luxury products. Southern countries, including Greece and Spain, keep these taxes low. As a result, the price of a bottle of whiskey now ranges from a high of about \$25 in Denmark to as little as \$6 in Greece. Changing the tax rate might please some consumers—but it would anger many others.

British opposition is also preventing progress on other topics toward closer European unity. Most active EC members—including West Germany and France—support moves toward a European central bank and, eventually, a common European currency. Thatcher's government has declared its opposition to these measures, insisting on retaining full control over monetary policy.

While these disputes rage inside Europe, leaders of other major trading nations expressed concern that 1992 might signal a post-bellum world as nervous competitors, exposed to new competition from their partners, prima facie governments to eliminate threats from abroad. Many American officials say that they are alarmed by the EC's declared intention to limit access to the European market in some cases unless other nations grant what they call "improvised access" to their markets. Said G. S. Anderson, president of Chrysler: "The \$64,000 question is whether or not it will be a



Volkswagen automobile plant in West Germany: losses as well as success

Portuguese Europe, where they'll be free traders internally and protectionists externally."

European officials claim that they will not be protectionist, but some Commonwealth officials maintain that they very much could develop. Said Peter Campbell, a senior official at Canada's mission to the EC in Brussels: "Protectionism could still rear its ugly head in the coming

shake-out of European industry there will be winners and losers." He added: "Flood with ruin, a depressed region will clearly push for protection. And in a shrewd world economy, Europe like any body else, could be tempted to shut the doors."

A protectionist, and may still be avoided, however. Peter Laidlaw, director of the Centre

for European Policy Studies in Brussels, said that he is confident that there will be no "leech toward protectionism" in a single-market Europe. "One government has in the sheer number of nations in the EC," Laidlaw said in an interview. "As present as when industry in one country may have enough leverage on the national scene to persuade its government to shut out foreign competitors. It won't have the same luck when it has in the EC as it has in 12 governments."

Despite those problems, all EC governments have vowed to keep the 1992 plan on track. But their debate over sovereignty will almost certainly seriously slow the timeline for completing its approaches. Already, many powers once expected by individual states have been shifted to Brussels from the national capitals. EC headquarters now dictates policy on trade, and new duties, agriculture and competition. But most European analysts maintain that it is a second development. Said Laidlaw: "For 40 years, Europe has been gradually losing its sovereignty as the way to regain economic power after the devastation of World War II. The gradual greening of borders finds it only natural to code ground in the common interest." As they come to grips with the difficult issues on the road to 1992, Europe's leaders will find that tradition rarely tested.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London with
PETER LEWIS in Brussels



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Saleswoman Diana Buzay, Papillon Blanc design (below): eager shoppers

Silky new profits

Lingerie's appeal has never been greater

Buying lingerie is usually a private affair. That may have been the reason that the furrowed brows who had gathered in the aisles of a suburban Thriftway, On June last week seemed a little bit of a case. The occasion was a so-called lingerie party, given by Ma Chene Ltd., a Burlington manufacturer that sells exclusively through a network of independent sales agents. As two of the waiters, mothers in their 50s, accident-ridden nightgowns, sat on gowns and relaxed evening wear that would not be out of place at the bedside, the discussion was strictly appreciative and self-conscious. There were also garters when more exotic items appeared, and some bewilderment over the correct attaching of garters, pedicels and garters. As the evening wore on, the women became more relaxed and receptive. Eventually some of them bought items. For Ma Chene, a successful party means handsome profits. And for the customers, the purchase of a heretofore nightgown or satin bralette imports a pleasant sense of personal self-indulgence, far removed from cost. Because of that—and many other factors—Canada's lingerie industry is enjoying a period of unprecedented prosperity.

Indeed, lingerie's allure has been growing rapidly during the past two years, peaking this fall in what Montreal designer Pierre Tremblay says is an unusually intense buying spree. "The fall '88 collection is in the stores, and



Tremblay's '88 collection

already we have repeat orders," said an eagerly surprised Tremblay, who designs for Montreal manufacturer Linda Lingane. For lingerie manufacturers who specialize in expensive silk garments, sales are unlikely to be affected by the free trade agreement, partly because such companies have already established themselves firmly in the United States. Other companies that cater to less affluent customers could face stiff American competition with the lowering of protective Canadian tariffs. But many manufacturers in Canada's burgeoning lingerie industry say that current sales are rising dramatically and that women are spending record amounts for individual undergarments and sleepwear. They are also making more adventurous selections, wearing utilitarian garments in finer silk fabrics, graceful styling and such handmade details as flowers, beading and lace. The trend, said Donna Stoppel, Lingane's buyer Marvella Ciolek at Toronto, is based on a desire to "feel feminine and pretty" and, for some women, to please husbands or boyfriends. Added Ciolek: "By having more feminine lingerie, it can add interest to long-standing relationships."

The new taste for lingerie has meant expansion and growing profits for a clutch of Canada's lingerie manufacturers based in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. Bottom-of-the-Canadian women seem to disregard price, frequently paying \$75 for a slip, \$65 for a corset—a short, sleeveless undergarment—and \$50 for evening-lace and panties. Holt Renfrew & Co Ltd. buyer Jennifer Ciolek says that her regular customers often casually spend at least \$100 on a single visit to the Holt Renfrew store and many women spend hundreds of dollars more on fine underwear.

As a result of that kind of buyer enthusiasm, lingerie company revenues have soared to record levels. At Linda Lingane, sales have topped \$11 million this year, up from \$7 million three years ago, and president Ronald Purdie says that there is still room to grow. Revenues at Vancouver's Adagio, which markets the designs of Patricia Peckelstein, have shot up by 240 per cent in the past two years. And Linda Blake, head of a group of lingerie companies that includes Ma Chene, said that her sales this fall are up by 50 per cent over the previous year. Total lingerie sales in Canada, including both underwear for day and sleepwear, are now estimated at \$1 billion. The entire market for women's clothing in Canada is about \$9 billion retail and, except for lingerie, it has been depressed since 1985.

The reluctance to spend large amounts on outerwear has many women turning to lingerie, which generally costs less, to satisfy their appetite for fashionable new clothing. Camisoles frequently range in price from \$25 to \$25, compared with \$200 for a blouse. Ellen Murphy, merchandise manager for lingerie chain La Vie en Rose, says that with lingerie, "a woman gets a real bang out of her clothing dollar." Some manufacturers say that women are now buying such formerly taboo items as bras for their fathers, relatives, not simply as replacements in their wardrobe. The effect of

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good lingerie is to help a woman feel attractive and to make her mood, according to some manufacturers. Sued Pacha "Boudoir" items are a hard sell these days. People are putting a lot of money into their houses." An item said that women have become more comfortable buying expensive lingerie for themselves, rather than relying on gifts from men. Added Faria: "Once into buying lingerie, women become addicted. It's a cheap perk."

According to Edward Johnson, chief executive officer of Adagio, more contemporary designs and greater sophistication in styling and fabrics are attracting women with money to spend. He added: "Younger people are now designing lingerie. It is odd, but true, that the underwear business used to be dominated by older men." Lingerie designs he added, had stagnated and had become overly utilitarian because conservatism after that function were "not acceptable. Now lingerie is an expression of lifestyle."

Some Canadian manufacturers are now establishing reputations for styling and fine craftsmanship in the United States, Europe and Japan. Adagio and Charlotte and Company, another Vancouver manufacturer, with designs by Christine Marton, are both known for fine silk robes, nightgowns and corsets. The majority of their sales are in the United States, and their garments are sold in exclusive stores including Bergdorf Goodman in New York, Henrietta-Marcus, a Dallas-based chain, and Nordstrom, a West Coast chain with headquarters in Seattle. Christine Marton's luxurious designs—the most expensive item is a lace-trimmed robe that retails for almost \$1,500—have appeared in such American television series as *Golden and Feline*. Other designers include Melissa, Cher and Elizabeth Taylor. Patricia Tschirke's classic pieces have been used in TV series that emphasize fashionable and sensual styles of living. Those include *Miami Vice* and *Northridge*.

As well as celebrity connections, marketing and strong presentation are also ongoing concerns to buy. Three years ago, when Madonna began appearing in a sexy black costume, braless-and-corset known as a "braless" sales of the garment shot upward. And that new emphasis on lingerie, and feeling more feminine generally, seems to be fueling a responsive chord with a wide generation of Canadian women. According to Toronto-based retail management consultant John Winter, lingerie is a "hot segment right now because somebody has targeted it. It was underdevel-



Christine designs: "Women become addicted. It's a cheap perk."

oped. And because the career woman wants to look good everywhere as well as on top."

Winter points to Victoria's Secret, a chain of American lingerie shops owned by clothing retailer The Limited Inc. Since 1981, the chain has grown to 200 stores from five and its



Murphy: "a real bear from the dollar"

owners say that they expect to have 340 by the end of this year. The company is known for a sexy catalogue that appears several times a year. Canada has also spawned its own response devoted entirely to lingerie. The first issue of *Lingerie* published in Montreal this fall, has received an "overwhelming response" from women, according to editor Martin Sloan. The glossy, 100-page quarterly whose subtitle is a combination of the words lingerie and rock, features lingerie models and is sold on newsstands across the country for \$2.50.

Lingerie's new popularity has also led to a growing taste for sexually provocative undergarments including push-up bras, sexy robes, G-strings, corsets, and garter belts. G-string panties and teddies—a close fitting, seamless one-piece undergarment—black and red stretch lace has become more popular, and increasing numbers of women are viewing some items, including bustiers as evening wear or party costumes under conventional jackets. Manufacturers have noticed that the taste for sexy underwear varies across the country, with Quebec and the Prairies displaying the greatest preference for provocative lingerie. Said one owner of a Chicago, who requested anonymity: "For Calgary, we can't make things any rougher."

But in the Maritimes and Ontario, consumers are more conservative. "La Vie en Rose's Murphy says that lingerie sales are still struggling for the 'top' partly because of the current emphasis on body-conscious outer clothing. She added: "Women no longer had interest of their bodies. It is not considered cool to spend money on lingerie."

Some aspects in the lingerie industry speculate that such trends are related to an unconscious anxiety where management relationships are receiving more attention. Sued Pacha "When attitudes toward sex are more open, clothes are less provocative. When the opposite is true, clothes become sexier." But others say that women are still taking better care of their bodies with exercise and diet and are more interested in pampering themselves. Whatever the reason for lingerie's growing popularity, most manufacturers agree that the current cycle of growth still has room to continue its upward trend. In that stronghold created by active consumers, Canadian designers can continue to expect an enthusiastic acceptance for their designs—at home and abroad.

INTERVIEWS BY CHRISTOPHER

Toward a 'superpool'

Prairie grain co-ops weigh a giant merger

The three farmer-owned Prairie wheat co-operatives have been the backbone of western Canadian agriculture for 60 years. But the co-ops, which handle more than 90 per cent of Canada's annual grain crop and which have \$2.3 billion in yearly sales, have been steadily losing ground against the multinational companies that dominate the global agricultural commodities sector. As for lack as the early 1980s, the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and its smaller sister co-ops, Manitoba Pool Elevators and the Alberta Wheat Pool, have threatened joining forces against their larger rivals by merging into one giant co-operative. And last week, the merger of the three co-operatives into a single corporation looked more than ever like an idea whose time had come. But even that may not be enough to rescue the troubled grain co-op's future. Said Roy Atkinson, 44, a longtime Saskatchewan pool member and former president of the National Farmers' Union: "The only problem is it's coming 30 years too late. This outfit is dead."

But most members claim that the co-ops,



Grain elevators, Alton, Sask.: harsh realities

which have played a critical role in the lives of most western farmers, will remain alive. Last week, the merger issue dominated both the Saskatchewan and Alberta wheat pools' annual meetings in Regina and Calgary, as delegates debated their organizations' futures at length. Last Friday, the Saskatchewan pool attracted their executives to investigate amalgamation at once again—adding momentum to a process started two weeks earlier, when Manitoba pool delegates routinely endorsed endorsing a merger proposal. Many pool members said that a merger will lead to a decline in the Prairie co-operative movement. But the farmers' new attitude resulted from a number of harsh economic realities. The free trade agreement coupled with sharply depressed grain prices and stiff international competition, has heightened Prairie farmers' awareness of the tough challenges they face in the global marketplace. As a result, the long-dormant issue of how to survive has overshadowed the co-operatives' deep concerns over the possible

loss of autonomy—which doomed the previous rounds of merger discussions.

The debate is taking place at a time when the pools are still recovering from nearly five years of falling grain prices and from last summer's severe 1986 drought. During the 1985 crop year, which ended on June 30, the 70,000-member Saskatchewan pool's profits hit \$28 million. That was significantly above the \$14.3

million the pools earned in 1984. But instead of a corporate plan that would retain some amount of independence for the three pools, the still-unsettled merger discussions a single co-operative with no chief executive and a handful of directors. The pool's supporters say that such dramatic changes must be made if the pools are to compete effectively with the large firms dominating the international grain trade.



Saskatchewan: autonomy in a changing world

lost—because when they were formed as farmer-owned co-operatives more than 60 years ago, the pools were involved exclusively in producing and storing farmers' grain before it was shipped to market. But gradually over the years, the pools have developed new other means of survival to maintain their profit margins. The Saskatchewan pool, the most diversified of the three, now retains 30 per cent of its net earnings from what are consid-

ered "value added" activities, which have little to do with handling grain. A side line is a system of 500 country co-ops, the pool also owns a livestock division that last year marketed 425,000 head of cattle, a flour and food service division and even a printing company that publishes a farm newspaper and a variety of books.

But because of the dominance of the multinationals, pool officials say that they have to create a stronger force to survive. Within the past year, a subsidiary of the Minneapolis grain giant Cargill Inc. purchased the grain division of Toronto-based Maple Leaf Mills Ltd. Meanwhile, Borden O.G. Ltd., an Australian agricultural food and beverage conglomerate, bought Cargill O'Keefe Resources of Canada Ltd. And wheat pool officials say that they want to create a powerful corporation that can compete with foreign giants such as Borden and Cargill.

Overall, a pessimistic observers and critics also say that farming is a tough life. Prairie wheat pool as the logical next step for the beleaguered western grain industry. Declared University of Saskatchewan agriculture economist James Leibold: "Even in recent years, when they handled large volumes, the pools have seen their margins drop back and margins decline. For better or for ill, they realize the need to look at much more than grain-handling."

JOHN DEMONT with DALE ESSLER in Regina

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Slamming the doors on John Turner

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

All the speculation about John Turner's political future may be irrelevant. That is because in the coming climate he created for himself during the election campaign—when it was sometimes hard to tell whether he was fighting the Conservatives as the business community's—being leader of the opposition may be the only job he can get.

Turner was the Bay Street power broker seated through the Trudeau clerisy as the Canadian business establishment's official choice for prime minister the one candidate who would exercise the same sense of fiscal and political responsibility he had preached as a senior director of Canadian corporations with assets of \$20 billion. (He also served as Canada's head of World Group Inc., the San Francisco-based engineering and construction firm that reeks among the most overinvestment of American industries.)

Because they feel that they have been betrayed by one of their own, the podium of big business has now slammed their doors in Turner's face—even before he has come job-hunting. "His one anticipated that Turner would turn out to be a mad dog," said Jack Fraser, head of Federal Industries Ltd. in Winnipeg, echoing the feelings of his peers during the campaign. "It's not going to meet to be elected," Fraser added, "but to screw your country in order to win, that's just disgusting." As usual, it was Conrad Black who had the last word: "Not since Maurice Duplessis outmaneuvered the Liberals and entered himself by accusing his opponents of importing Communist eggs from Poland has a leader of a major Canadian party inflicted upon his electorate such an avalanche of sophisticated falsehoods and banalities."

The low point of Turner's authoritarian attitude was his refusal to discuss the compromise drawn by his chief strategist, Michael Kirby, who had compared big business to the Klu Klux Klan. "Go the Liberals really believe making an image of businessmen as hooded, torch-

No one anticipated that Turner would turn into such a mad dog. To screw your country in order to win, that's just disgusting'

bearing snakes gives credibility to their attack on the free trade agreement?" thundered The *Financial Post*.

Certainly, the Liberal leader left little doubt about where he stood. He attacked businessmen at every campaign stop, pointing them as profit hungry robbers trying to "buy the election on the backs of the workers." His party's rallying ad to voting day urged Canadians to "Vote 'no' to big business."

Business responded with a barrage of pro-free-trade advertising, with as much as \$4 million spent on publishing scathing four-page inserts in Canadian newspapers and magazines. It was the first time in generations that the Canadian business community had involved itself on one side of a federal election. The fact that its arguments caused the day has prompted free-trade supporters to believe that it will control the Mulroney government's political agenda, including the kind of sensitive deficit reductions it advocates.

In that context, it was significant that the newly re-elected Prime Minister used his first news conference to declare that he owed the business community nothing. "I have no debt towards someone in favor of the deal more than I have a debt to those opposed," he said

"Everyone had the right to speak out." Still, having won on free trade, the business community will now press the government on significant deficit reductions in the 1989 spring budget. Given the choice of higher taxes or reducing expenditures, it has naturally opted for less federal spending, particularly on universal social payments.

But if Mulroney learned one lesson in his first term, it was that nearly all Canadians consider such programs essential. If the new federal sales tax is to revenue-neutral as Mulroney's White Paper claimed it was during the election, Ottawa will not be able to reduce spending much—especially when the economy gets through its expected slowdown and recession begins to decline. That means the Tories face a serious dilemma.

With the national debt due to hit at least \$300 billion by the end of the year, Mulroney may have to depend on the private sector for job creation and some of the compensatory schemes required to limit the worst economic effects of free trade. The report of the Advisory Council on Adjustment, a federal inquiry into which industries will be hurt, and by how much, headed by Jean de Grandpré, chairman of Bell Canada's Bellstream Ltd., will become a key document in that debate.

Mulroney says that he has served the business community well enough in his first term and, through his first trade initiative, that he can afford to spare its advice and lobbying for a while. His biggest commitment, of course, will be dismantling the National Energy Program and defusing the Foreign Investment Review Agency; now, there are few regulatory restraints remaining to prohibit Canada's business community from proving, once and for all, that it knows how to survive and prosper in the untrammeled marketplace.

At the same time, the Liberals cannot continue to reject the business community as a legitimate part of Canadian society. Reconciliation with John Turner will be difficult. The only business types elected were Mulroney's Paul Martin Jr., Thompson's Roy MacLaren and Joe Peterson and Fredericton's Red Bell. A few well-placed senators, including Vancouver's Jack Austin, Toronto's Leo Stollard and Montreal's Les Robit, will also be helpful. A few business community leaders, mostly Paul Desmarais, Canada's Bank and the Investment Dealers Association of Canada's Andrew Kneewasser, who have a foot in both political camps, may be useful go-betweens. "Nobody turns up trustees," says Fowler, "and businessmen will have to recognize that politicians get carried away in a split. There has to be an accommodation with the Liberals, because you can't sustain a situation where the working people think they can only be heard through the MP and businessman ally through the Tories. That isn't and won't remain true—don't forget it took a long time for Pierre Trudeau to attain to any businessmen in this country, but eventually he did and was not misquoted."

There is little question that such a healing process will eventually take place, but there are only two chances that John Turner will be part of it: slow and unannounced.



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Muscogean	10,000 Total City	10-11 Total City	Approx. 10-11
Muskogean	10,000 Total City	10-11 Total City	Approx. 10-11

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TELEVISION

Mortal embrace

A soft-focus look at a bereaved family

MAMA'S GOING TO BUY YOU A
MOCKINGBIRD
(TNC, Dec. 4, 8 p.m.)

Absent before an image appears on the television screen: the familiar clicking and whirring of a camera projector signals the beginning of a house film. In *My Darling Clementine*, a Mockingbird, a new, low-budget Clint Eastwood film featuring a host of familiar faces with differing fates of a late-1950s family enjoying bad days at home and summer at the beach. Show, however, the suburban setting of the Tobey, clearly is not a house film. The Mockingbird is a story about a grief. A cowboy-cowboy story that becomes inevitably's grief. Mockingbird clearly aims to chronicle the delicate process of healing. But, like the soft-focus scenes and humming high notes of the film's score, the film's editing gives the impression of working slowly hard to look natural. The film draws together several notable talents: it is based on a book of the same name by award-winning Canadian novelist Michael Ondaatje, who also wrote and directed the highly popular 1988 feature *My American Cousin*; and one of its stars is the accomplished Toronto-based actress Linda Gerdes. Interestingly, *My Darling Clementine* is the first of six films

Quetz, a postcardist Jeremy Hall told *Tripline* in 22 in the summer of 2005. He has a teenage son, Sarah (Martha Moore), live with their schoolteacher father, John (Karl Brown), and housewife mother, Karl (Karl), in a tidy, red-tiled house. Immediately after school in 2005 for the summer, John learns that he has cancer. A few weeks later, the family gathers at the cottage, it becomes clear that John is dying. On his deathbed in the left the father is pleased to learn that Jeremy has befriended a girl named Tina (Rosa Barber-Anders), a bookish middle-aged woman one of his favorite students. After John's death, Tina helps Jeremy deal with his loss.

On the screen, intimate moments can easily become cloying, and *Miraculous* is often guilty of overkill. Screenwriter Anna Sandoz tends to underline dramatic segments with a heavy hand. At the cottage, Jeremy and his ailing father share a moment of wonder when they manage to get very close to an owl. Both are apoplectic when the bird finally takes flight, soars above their heads. But the scene becomes backslowed when John makes Jeremy and entices

"Protect me, you'll remember this always."

Other difficulties arise out of the casting. Trips—who looks like an adolescent Woody Allen—seems stiff and uncomfortable in the pivotal role of Jeremy. And in the latter half of the drama, Griffin looks too fresh-faced to be convincing as a widow struggling to make ends meet. However, on the other hand, is warmly believable as the dying father. And, as Tina, Barker-Anderson infuses her character with intelligence and vulnerability.



Moreau, Griffiths, Trope: familial intimacy

PAMELA WILSON

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TRENDS

Hot-rock cuisine

Restaurants are reviving a primitive way of cooking

When early man first began burning wood to cook his meals, he often used rocks to retain heat from the fire. Now, a similar method of cooking is enjoying growing popularity in European and North American restaurants. Known as "hot-rock" cuisine, the new fad allows diners to prepare their own meals on slabs of polished stone from plates of raw meat, seafood and vegetables. Just yesterday, Narsing, food and beverage director at the Westin hotel in Calgary, one of the first in Canada to feature hot-rock cooking, "It heats cooking a steak and having to stick to the oven rule."

At the hotel's Terrace Restaurant, diners do their own cooking on a 6½-inch square of 1½-inch thick granite imported from the Central European Alps. The rocks, which are oven-baked to 350°C (660°F), are supported by a stainless-steel frame that rests on a tray and they retain their heat for about half an hour. The biggest selling point for many diners is the quality of cooking their own meat. "People get bored," said Narsing. "Cooking their own food keeps them busy." At the same time, said Fred Zimmerman, the Westin's executive chef, the cuisine is "healthier" because food—which is seared at a high temperature to retain its juices—is cooked without oils.

Zimmerman's menu includes Indonesian-style sautéed marinated veal, chicken and pork on bamboo skewers; a seafood mixed grill that includes prawns, scallops and Canadian lobster tails; and B-C salmon fillets. Plates of sliced zucchini, eggplants, green and red peppers, snow peas, onions and Japanese-style broiled mushrooms accompany the main course. As well, there are optional sauces ranging from balsamic to spicy sesame and teriyaki.

"I dislike some tabernacle cooking, which uses hot oil that can splutter and burn, but rock-cooking appeals to many restaurant owners because of its relative safety. 'Tabernacle cooking is almost dead because of fire regulations,'" said Timoteo Maria, president of Anaheim, Calif.-based New Stone Age Inc., which sells the granite rocks to restaurants. "This is a good replacement." For diners, however, the great lure of hot-rock cuisine lies not in the novelty of paying to do the cooking—most though there is ultimately no one but themselves to blame for a burned lamb chop.

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SCIENCE

LIFE AFTER DEATH

DINOSAUR SHOWS HAVE BECOME BLOCKBUSTER HITS AS SCIENTISTS HEATEDLY DEBATE NEW THEORIES

Eight-year-old John Kappeler considered the lifelike model of *Tyrannosaurus rex* that towered over him. "Actually," he said as the prehistoric jaws opened to display rows of razor-sharp teeth, "*Tyrannosaurs* were much larger than this. And so was that triceratops over there. Some dinosaurs—I learned this in kindergarten—were so large, I think, that they needed two brains!" The youngster made his comments during a tour of the Royal Ontario Museum's latest of *Tyrannosaurus*, which is currently featuring the highly popular *Dinosaur* exhibition of mechanical, mechanical dinosaurs and paintings and sculptures of the ancient beasts. The subject abounds in mystery. Scientists wonder why the creatures that dominated the planet Earth for 150 million years suddenly died out, and scholars heatedly debate whether or not dinosaurs were cold-blooded lizards or warm-blooded animals that had more in common with modern birds. Now, these obscure issues have suddenly begun to filter into the public domain. *Dinosaur* exhibitions like the one at the ROM—along with the mechanical models—have become blockbuster hits with young and old. The grunts of the Mesozoic era, extinct for 65 million years, are drawing record crowds and drawing informed comment from a new generation of gun-toting paleontologists who have taken to dinosaurs with astonishing enthusiasm. "I guess what's real about dinosaurs," said Kappeler, "is the mystery."

Dinosaur topics, games, clothes and other paraphernalia, along with dinosaur events and Saturday morning television cartoon shows, are selling in record numbers. Last November, when New York City exhibited dinosaur bones and sculptures at Coney Park, about 5,000 spectators were expected. In fact, 10,000 showed up. Last month, a one-foot model of *Tyrannosaurus rex* staged up and down Radio Drive in



Allosaurus: a popularity like 'the process of spontaneous combustion'

Los Angeles's upper-crust Beverly Hills district to promote a chain of stores that sells dinosaur products—including undrinking packaged fluids and glow-in-the-dark triceratops skeleton T-shirts—to a growing market throughout the United States. "The dinosaur rage," said a spokesman for Merrill Lynch & Co. Inc., the New York City brokerage house,

"must be linked to the process of spontaneous combustion."

Since it opened in October, the ROM's dinosaur show has drawn an average of 3,600 people a day—the highest attendance in a decade. At the same time, Alberta's Tyrrell Museum of Paleontology, which opened in the fossil-rich badlands near Drumheller, Alta., in

*Offer applies to the first purchase and purchase. Cash back depends on the copier model.

is not restricted to children. Coatsworth Murphree, sales director with Elephant & Co. of Cambridge, Mass., reports that her company's line of inflatable dinosaur toys appeals to the generation. "First yuppies bought them," she said, "then doctors and doctors bought them for their offices and have them up in their living rooms. And finally became a trendy thing with teenagers, who put them in the back of

Dr. Gideon Mantell, south of London in 1822 the first dinosaur was subsequently coined by British scientist Richard Owen from the Greek words for "terrible lizard." Since then, the search for the ancient beasts' fossils has tended to come in bursts. After the excitement that surrounded the first 19th-century discoveries, interest died down, only to flare up again during the 1870s when the search spread from Europe and North America to Africa and China

benefit of protecting barriers of dinosaur bones. Then, during the late 1950s and 1960s, North American prospecting incidentally unearthed the paleontology departments of museums and universities. Younger scientists, whose interest in dinosaurs arose from magazines and the models they sent away for, started increasing the ranks of voracious paleontology departments with keen, young practitioners. These years "were just fabulous moments," recalled the University of Colorado's Robert Bakker, the leading exponent of the theory that dinosaurs were warm-blooded animals and that they were probably killed off by dinosaurs spread through migration. Dinosaurs, added Bakker, are "really cool. Nature's special effects."

Bakker and other members of the new generation of paleontologists say that they were partly attracted to the field by tales of the colorful dinosaur hunters of the American and Canadian West. They included Othaniel Charles Marsh and Edward Drinker Cope, warring barons whose competing digging crews reportedly came to blows in the 1870s in the bone quarries of Wyoming and Colorado.

That was a period of major discoveries, including one triggered by an Alberta rancher who mailed New York City's American Museum of Natural History in 1868 that he had a yard full of dinosaur bones on his land. That set off a dinosaur rush in the stage-acted Canadian badlands. As well, American adventure-geologist Roy Chapman Andrews, with a Cole residence on his hip, ran the greatest oil and gas fields in the Gobi desert of northwestern China and Mongolia in the 1920s and early 1930s in his search for bones. "It was great stuff," said the Tyrrell museum's Curran. "The life of a paleontologist appeared to me miraculously."

Although no one has ever shot at Curran, his career has been eventful. Since he joined the Provincial Museum of Alberta in Edmonton as dinosaur curator in 1975, the lucky, Dinosaur, Out-quest scientist has reintroduced large-scale dinosaur digging to the weather-eroded rock towns and starkly bleak of southern Alberta—an area that had been almost ignored by paleontologists since the 1830s. Curran was also largely responsible for convincing the Alberta government of then-Premier Peter Lougheed in the early 1980s to dig into an unexcited general consensus to build the \$38-million Tyrrell museum. Named after Joseph Tyrrell, a Geological Survey of Canada prologist who discovered the area's first dinosaur remains during a trip along the Red Deer River in 1884, the 130,000-square-foot building is



Triceratops defending their young out of dusty artifact rooms and into public consciousness

their cars with their heads out of the windows."

Explanation for the current dinosaur craze ranges from the psychological to the mythical. According to Larry Long, an instructor in the popular culture department at Bowling Green State University in Ohio, "Whether there is a trend like this, a spike to broader society. It may be pure speculation, but with all the potential for destruction in the world, adults may be responding the same way as children by taking something scary and trying to control it."

Paleontologist Edwin Colbert, 83, has a different theory. Colbert, author of the 1980 book *Dinosaurs: An Illustrated History*, attributes the trend to the animals' physical stature: "They somehow fill the role of medieval dragons in our mind," said Colbert, who is honorary curator at the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff. "They're something big and aggressive that we're fearful of. If dinosaurs didn't exist anymore, we would think there's very strange and fascinating too."

Most paleontologists, however, say that it is recent discoveries that have brought dinosaurs into the spotlight. The animals have fascinated scientists, and the world at large, ever since the first dinosaur bones to be scientifically identified were found by Mary Ann Mantell, wife of the English surgeon and fossil hunter

But the Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War drained funding and manpower away from paleontology. Instead, by the early 1950s, Colbert, then a pioneering paleontologist at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, was one of only a



ROM curator Lorie Rasmussen: hunting for solutions to a centuries-old puzzle



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SCIENCE

considered by paleontologists to be the most modern and dynamic dinosaur museum in the world.

The Tyrrell, which operates on an annual budget of \$2.4 million, has become a mecca for paleontologists from around the world. The guest book the Currier keeps in its mail table is his living room and an expansive directory of the world's leading dinosaurologists. The book has been a good by Annette's Bowen Colbert, Colorado's Robert Reider and the leading paleontologist from the People's Republic of China, Dong Zhiming.

Parts of northern China and Western Canada are currently yielding important dinosaur finds. Under a joint program, Canadian and Chinese scientific teams have been digging since 1990 in Alberta: the Canadian Arctic and in the Gobi desert—an area that is considered special because it contains dinosaur remains from all three Mesozoic periods. Reed Colbert: "The most important work being done today is being done at Tyrrell and by Canadians working in Mongolia and China."

An expedition to China in 1987, led by Dong Zhiming, with the assistance of Currier and Ontario's Dale Russell, uncovered a 6,000-km trek as Jiao Chenzhou from northeastern China and across the Gobi to Beijing. During the search, the 42 paleontologists and support staff uncovered some new types of dinosaurs. An estimated 90-foot-long mammoth, which lived 168 million years ago, was found buried in mudstone. Last summer, the Sinu-Cambrian expedition also unearthed the remains of pig-sized dinosaurs with beaks like those of parrots.

As scientists at the Tyrrell museum and at the Chinese Academy of Sciences' Institute of Paleontology and Paleozoology in Beijing pour together the facts from the past decade's summer, preparations are being made for next summer's digs in Arctic Canada and northern China—and for an exhibition of dinosaur remains unearthed in China and Canada by the joint team. A world tour is scheduled to begin in 1994.

Currier and other paleontologists say that they are just beginning to unravel the mystery of the dinosaurs. And it could be years before clear answers emerge to the baffling questions of the century's apparently sudden extinction. Despite the resurgence of interest in them, only about 30 paleontologists in the world work full time on dinosaur research, battling for salaries to a point that spans millions of years. Meanwhile, the popularity of the extinct animals continues to grow outside of the specimen rooms and the bone beds. And at Tyrrell's ROM, it's John Edgarson takes his parents to the museum's Dino Store to get the lineup for Mesozoic merchandise, the polyurethane-cloned Tyrannosaurus rex life he has kept and lives again.

KE COLBERT is a broadcaster, with LARRY BLACK at New York City. BARBARA BLAKE ROSE is the Pressman and JERRY HART is a teacher.

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SCIENCE

Bones of contention

The debate over the past involves hot-blooded issues

On the surface, the two eminent scientists could not be more different. Loren Russell, the 64-year-old mentor emeritus at Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum, wears a dark blue blazer, has a clipped mustache and speaks in quiet, measured cadences. Robert Bakker, 43, a professor of paleontology at the University of Colorado Museum in Boulder, likes to wear cowboy hats and sports long hair and an unruly beard. Russell has not read Bakker's controversial 1986 book, *The Dinosaur Mercator*, and says that it is inappropriate for a man of science to look like "the wild man of Bones." For his part, Bakker calls many of Russell's generalizations about dinosaurs "stuffy." Still, the dinosaur octogenarian and the bedraggled young rebel have one thing in common: they both are proponents of a theory about dinosaurs that has divided experts in the field. Both Russell and Bakker have broken new ground with the theory that dinosaurs—contrary to past beliefs—were not cold-blooded reptiles but warm-blooded creatures related to birds. The theory could explain why dinosaurs—which may have been unable to survive a lowering of winter temperatures millions of years ago—became extinct.

But many experts shaking the tale of past geological periods still express their belief that almost all dinosaurs were cold-blooded, or ectothermic, meaning that their blood conformed to a ground temperature. And veteran American paleontologist Edwin Colbert, 80-year-old homonym curator at the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff. "These opposed positions have created a scientific debate that today is very much at the public realm. People far and wide seem to be intrigued with the idea of warm-blooded dinosaurs."

That is because warm-blooded creatures, based on what is known of modern-day species, are generally better-suited for extended periods of time and more adaptable to their environments than such cold-blooded creatures as lizards, snakes and turtles. Ectotherms are smart enough to bask for their young, but in parks and museums every first-aid weather-practices that recent fossil discoveries suggest some dinosaurs were capable of doing. Such revelations represent a marked departure from the traditional view of dinosaurs as sluggish and poorly equipped for survival.

Bakker craved his theory during 40 summers of fieldwork in Alberta, Montana and Wyoming. The question of why all dinosaurs became extinct, with various species of cold-

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SCIENCE

Looking for clues

Scientists ponder the mystery of extinction

The northern Alberta badlands lend themselves to thoughts of apocalyptic. Carved from the prairie by the last ice age, the forbidding sandstone hills and gorges of the region are rich in the remains of dinosaurs, the race of creatures that thrived for 140 million years—roughly 50 times as long as man has been known on Earth. Among the facts and the a-ha moments north-

sensational, American naturalist National Geographic even blamed the extermination of dinosaurs on big game hunters from another planet. Another popular theory of the past was that dinosaurs grew too big, while their brains remained small. As a result, the theory held, the emerging mammals stole their eggs, effectively birth-controlling the dinosaurs out of existence. But the discovery of small, intensely



Artist's impression of the *Alvarezsaurus*? theory giant osteorichs and dust clouds.

most of Calgary, paleontologists sift through the rocky debris where ancient rivers once roared before in 1981. The scientists are looking for clues about how dinosaurs lived and, especially, why they all died 65 million years ago. In the crumbling hills is a geological line, dividing the last geological period in which dinosaurs lived—the Cretaceous—from the succeeding Tertiary period. Above that boundary, no dinosaur skeletons have been found, something apocalyptic happened. But what?

Ever since the first dinosaur remains were identified 164 years ago, scientists have pondered the mystery. Some scientists in the 1950s advanced theories about an exploding star so close whose lethal cosmic rays damaged the dinosaurs' reproductive tissues; an American biochemist cited the development of global vegetation that produced more oxygen than dinosaurs could breathe, and one more of the

high-theory theories—including the extraterrestrial, once-again dinosaurs and problems—called that theory into question. More recent evidence that even the larger dinosaurs cared for their young and had enough sense to huddle in packs further undermined the small-brain hypothesis.

During the past decade, the search for an explanation about why dinosaurs died out has turned in new directions. Astronomers and scientists from other disciplines have joined paleontologists in the puzzling search for a massive, planet-wide event that could have led to the dinosaurs' extinction. Scott Charles Olsen, a geophysicist and a paleontologist at Barnard College in New York, N.H., "It has become one of the major earth sciences problems since the beginning of geologic time."

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L.A. on the rocks

A detective movie takes surprising twists

TRACYA SENESE
Directed by Robert Towne

A famous connection that packs a subtle punch, *Tapestry* Seneese lives up to its name. Filtered through the headlighted haze of Los Angeles, an average run detaches the screen with a warm glow; the gorgeous Michael Pfeiffer adds a greenish tint of beauty, and a double shot of Mel Gibson and Kurt Russell provides the tquila kick. But the Hollywood masterpiece who mixed the ingredients, Robert Towne, has written and directed a movie that is far more than the sum of its parts. On the surface, it is a slick intrigue about a cop, a drug dealer and a beautiful woman. Yet with Towne, who wrote the Oscar-winning screenplay for the 1974 detective classic *Chinatown*, nothing is quite the way it seems. Exploring and exploiting Hollywood conventions, Towne's new adventures through a swirl of potential deceptions

and counts not smoothed. Wily, seductive and unpredictable, *Tapestry* Seneese is so intriguing that it demands to be seen again even before it is over.

The movie arrives with some high expectations attached to it. As a writer, Towne, 52, is a Hollywood legend. His *Chinatown* script has become a model for Hollywood gurus who attempt to break the art of screenwriting. He also worked on the scripts for such classics as *Beverly Hills Cop*, *The Godfather* and *Shogun*. But Towne's only previous directing attempt, 1982's *Private* best failed to have the impact of his previous work. With *Tapestry*, he has created a labyrinthine counterpart to the dark voice of *Chinatown*.



Pfeiffer sexual cunning

The story is not as strong—the plot's final payoff seems contrived. But, like *Chinatown*, it is a tightly contained detective melodrama about love, conspiracy and betrayal. Once over, Towne has the audience's sympathies shifting like cacklers among the main characters—who may or may not be who they say they are. And again, Los Angeles, where Towne grew up, serves not only as the story's setting, but as a personality for a prevailing theme of corrupt beauty.

In a way, *Tapestry* is both a product and a portrait of Hollywood. "Growing up in Los Angeles in general, and Hollywood in particular, life is always a matter of figuring out, I wonder what he really meant by that." Towne explained in an interview last week. "There is always a disparity between appearance and reality, a pattern to be decoded. And that automatically leads itself to a detective movie, a mystery or a melodrama."

Tapestry is the story of a drug dealer, Mac (Gibson), and a police detective, Nick (Pfeiffer), who have been best friends since high school but are stuck on opposite sides of the law. Nick has protected Mac in the past, but Nick's beautiful superior, Margaret (Russell), has seduced Mac. In the past, Mac has protected Nick in the past, but Nick's beautiful superior, Margaret (Russell), has seduced Mac. In the past, Mac has protected Nick in the past, but Nick's beautiful superior, Margaret (Russell), has seduced Mac.

Mac is anxious to get out of the drug business. But when Joe Ann (Senese), "a body with a lot of oomph," is in town, Mac is under financial pressure from his ex-wife, who has threatened to take back custody of their son, who lives with Mac in a beach house. Meanwhile, the police want him to stay in the game so that they can catch his supplier. And the L.A. Bureau drug lord, who has been Mac's friend since they were in a Mexican jail cell, is begging him to make one last deal.

Although Towne employs some familiar conventions, he uses them in a most unconventional way. There are good cops and bad cops, a slick girlfriend and a smart lawyer. But the movie leans closer to just this rock. And, in contrast to 1974's *Chinatown*, there are no signs of belated violence, no big chase scene, no dramatic climax. *Tapestry* Seneese is a movie driven by dialogue. And Towne's dialogue is so sharply written—clear without sounding contrived—that it demands to be seen. There is a sense of cleverness and wit throughout that could be open to all manner of interpretation. When Nick questions Joe Ann about Mac's frequent visits to the



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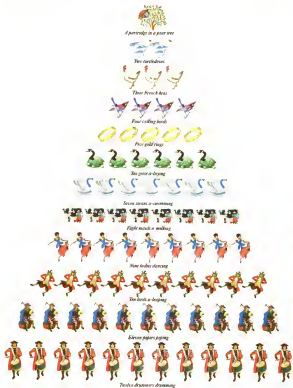
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FILMS

laurant, he might be referring to drug deals, sexual habits or food preferences in asking if she ever "had to satisfy any personal requests."

As Jo Ann Pfeiffer strikes the same balance between casual vulnerability and sexual cunning that made her so exciting as a mafia moll in the recent movie *Marnie* is the Moll. Her scenes with both Nash and Mac would-day with slow-faced desire—Gibson's macho-lance neatly complements Russell's intensity, and neither succeeds at stealing the movie from the other. It is "Gibson who steals the show. His cinema captures us, as if California dreaming, a beckoning shore of surfaces and sunsets. But his script keeps pulling the viewer away from the range and back to the passing reality of the characters."

In creating *Topical Scurry*, Towne says he tried to avoid melodrama with an atypical style. "I wanted the kind of interest and structure of *Chinatown*," he said, "but with the

surface lightness of *Shogun*. I wanted a beautiful surface—weekends are made for Michael, there's a few ideas of color in the back of the track, but don't worry, we won't get hurt." Added Towne: "We've seen enough gritty



Gibson (left), Russell—friends on opposite sides of the law

melodrama at similar stories that an effective setting almost makes it more real." In the same way, Towne avoided the usual battle scenes between police and drug dealers. "If

you withhold the actual kind of car chase violence," he said, "and give the audience the feeling that everyone's trying to be light and funny, then they start to think, 'Jesus, something bad is going to happen because we haven't seen it yet.'"

Although Towne says that his script unfolded in a lullaby, two longtime friends of his—a retired narcotics officer and a former drug dealer—served as consultants on the movie. "In real life," he said, "cops and criminals knock each other in threatening situations, tough guys are always trying to lay off, because they know that otherwise they are going to end up killing each other." Clear distinctions between heroes and villains no longer reflect American reality, according to Towne. "Ever since 1960, when [President Dwight] Eisenhower admitted that we aped an older countries and flew the U2 over Russia, we were no longer the good guy in the western who waited until the bad guy drew his gun."

Initially, his script's sympathetic portrayal of a drug dealer alienated some studio executives. "They were worried about the nature of the character's profession," he said. "One Warner Brothers executive said, 'Could it be something else, a guy as a numbers racket or something?' I explained that it's not about drugs. It's about the disparity between appearance and reality." And that disparity, which Hollywood does its best to ignore, is where Towne's act begins.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



SAVOUR THE MOMENT



FILMS

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COCONUT: THE RETURN

Directed by Dennis Hooper

When a Hollywood feature does well at the box office, its producers tend to succumb to paleo-quackery fantasies involving the word "sequel." Usually, the resulting movies are like the watered-down, reheated leftovers of a good dinner. *Cocoon*—a charming 1985 hit about alien beings and elderly meddling—lives better than most the second time around while *Cocoon: The Return* is, essentially, it retains the fuzzy ambience of the original.

Both movies are variations on the fountain-of-youth fantasy. In the original score, beings from outer space studied several holiday-like primitive musics in a Florida swimming pool. When residents of a nearby senior citizens' home took a dip there, they found themselves miraculously rejuvenated. Meanwhile, the most glamorous alien (Robert Welch) had an intergalactic fling with a young boat captain



Welch (left), Annette's exuberance

(Steve Guttenberg). In the end, the aliens returned to their planet, Antares, where no one ever dies—and the seniors tagged along. In *Cocoon: The Return*, the aliens return to Earth to rescue score points and the old kids go along to visit their loved ones.

Cocoon's greatest merit was its roster of splendidly seasoned actors. Happily, Don Ameche, Robert Downey, Hans Conrat, Jessica Tandy, Maurice Stepien and Gena Rowlands are all back in the sequel! So is Jack Gelfand, as the caustic widower Bernie Lefkowitz, who had chosen to remain on Earth. In the new film, he has a romance with Ruby (Genevieve Sirota), a winsome model owner. "Most people out there are a piece in the act," says Ruby. "Most people our age are dead." Bernie shouts back, Ameche, who won an Oscar for his performance in the original, triumphs again as the wiser, romantic Art Selwyn. Guttenberg and Welch are overshadowed by the older performers, but they prove their career wisdom in a scene involving an Antares aphrodisiac.

Although the plot of the sequel is ludicrous even by fantasy standards, the movie is not completely mindless. The seniors must choose once again between living forever in an alien world and returning to Earth with their loved ones. Some discover that they have lost their taste for immortality. As one of them observes, "A wife's not supposed to outlive her children." Despite its lapses, *Cocoon: The Return* is as amiable, at times poignant, celebration of life.

PAMELA YONG

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Food for thought

A moral choice between feast and famine

BARRETTE'S FEAST

Directed by Gabriel Axel

Along a subliminal movie appeal to the Nordic American palate can be difficult. But *Barrette's Feast*, an appetizing diversion from Denmark, is easier to market than meat. For one thing, it won the Academy Award for the best foreign-language film of 1985, making it the cinematic equivalent of a five-star restaurant. And the producers have managed to make another Hollywood connection by selling the movie as a story "from the author of *Out of Africa*."—Lark Dineen (the pen name of the Danish-Born Karen Blixen) first published Barrette's Feast in 1950 as a short story in *Ladies Home Journal*. However, the most unusual promotional tactic has been the reproduction of the movie's sumptuous 19th-century Danish dinner. The courses include turtle soup, Russian caviar and quail stuffed with truffles and pork fat lard. During the movie's recent run at the United States, more

than 5,000 diners enjoyed re-creations of the feast. Axel is grateful the movie's Toronto opening last week, a hotel chef created his own

facsimile of the Barretts' menu. There is a great tradition of epicureanism in the movies, from the organic supper of 1933's *Two Weeks in Paris* to the sensually charged dinner party of 1986's *The Decline of the American Empire*. But, as in most movies focusing on food, the meal in *Barrette's Feast* serves as a metaphor. The film is about art—and the choice between pleasure and self-denial. Beginning in the 1830s, the story revolves around two sisters, Marlene (Gertrude Følmer) and Philippe (Bibi Stjernberg), who live in a village on the desolate north coast of Denmark's Jutland peninsula. They are devoted daughters of a Lutheran pastor who has per-



Anders culinary artistry

sued her congregation to renounce all earthly pleasures. Although the sisters never marry, in their youth they make a lasting impression on two visitors from the outside world: a cavalry officer falls in love with Marlene, and a famous French opera singer becomes enchanted by Philippe. Both men's exaggerated passions are unrequited, as the sisters choose to remain loyal to their father's pastoral code.

On a stormy night, years after the pastor's death, a mysterious Parisian named Barrette (Stephane Audjon) suddenly shows up at the sisters' door and begs for a job as their unpaid housekeeper. A neighbor (Gertie Følmer)

Prætorius Rex, she has been sent by the opera singer who is still haunted by the memory of Philippe. The sisters accept Barrette, who applies herself to learning the precise art of cooking codfish and alcohol-soaked soup. Some later, Barrette converts out of the missionary client, she decides to invest her literary winnings in cooking as an extravagant French dinner to celebrate the anniversary of the pastor's birth.

When the humble parishioners see the hostess of supplies that she has imported for the feast—including a live turtle, cages of quails, roses of wax and crates of shrimp, silver and crystal—they are startled. They fear that they have been invited to a wicked Sabbath. Bloodily, they decide to leave the dinner party but now to ignore the pleasures of the mind.

The movie pervades with subtle humor, as director Gabriel Axel pokes a gentle fun at the piety of the parishioners. But the narrative—while unframed by the twin-hour glimpse of a moment—does not only come alive around the feast itself. The viewers cut back and forth from the kitchen, the site of Barrette's artistry, to the dinner table, where the guests receive the results with mounting bewilderment. Stirring in rich sauces, the food is so beautifully composed that the viewer cannot help but become a gastronomic voyeur. The vicarious pleasures of *Barrette's Feast* make it difficult to endure the movie on an empty stomach and prepare somehow to fill the gap.

The most exquisite scenes are not the parishioners eating. But all of Barrette's cooking is like watching a virtuoso at work. Audjon—an award-winning French actress who has appeared in such films as Lars von Trier's *The Dancer* and *Chances*—receives a deliciously complex grammar. But the movie as a whole is a tale that delights at the dinner table. Like the meal, it is beautifully conceived. Its multiple images are layered like puff pastry and glazed with a transcendental vision of art. And the ultimate irony of Barrette's Feast is the fact of the artist who created it. Denmark, who ate little else but seafood and champagne in her later years, died at age 77—of malnutrition.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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THEATRE

Upward imbecility

Heath Lamberts captures Molière's genius

THE BOURGEOIS GENTLEMAN
By Mollie
Directed by Gilles de Anduze

There is a subtle difference in Molière's 1670 classic *The Bourgeois Gentleman* that makes it a welcome treat to the onslaught of winter. The play—currently running at Toronto's Blues Apple Theatre in a Canadian Stage Company production—is almost pure comedy. It offers no deep ideas, no enlightening conflicts, and not a single character could ever be mistaken for a real person. But, due to Molière, it is one of the funniest plays ever written. Its tale of Monsieur Jourdain, the foolish, social-climbing merchant, will strike home along as there is no man in the world. And in Heath Lamberts, the current production has found an actor to match Molière's timeless caricature. Perhaps the best co-recreation in the country, Lamberts has a genius and an innocence that can enact the kind of laughter that runs very close to tears.

Lamberts is none of several well-known actors, including David Carver and Peter Onor, who have replaced the original two-phase cast of a 1987 production of *The Bourgeois Gentleman* by Québec's Théâtre du Français. But director Gilles de Anduze has reunited the five original, fully sequenced, developed and performed by the directors of Québec City's Théâtre Paroisse ensemble. That makes the current *Bourgeois Gentleman* one of the most authentic and entertaining productions of the play in English-speaking artistic communities.

With his mild manner, close-cropped head and wavy-haired glasses, Lamberts' offstage seems the antithesis of the pretentious Jourdain. Intellectual and articulate, the 46-year-old actor is a follower of Tim Robbins and talks of his art in modest rather than in technical terms. "We do what we do," Lamberts told *Macleans* recently. "We have been given our talents so that we can provide insight and revelation. We must show that Monsieur Jourdain is not just a character to laugh at. We must also show that, as his personality and dreams, he is all of us."

Lamberts' talent for entering into the comedy "We have been given our talents so that we can provide insight and revelation. We must show that Monsieur Jourdain is not just a character to laugh at. We must also show that, as his personality and dreams, he is all of us."



Lamberts: playing his clownish part to perfection

dreams of his characters has its origin in an embittered childhood. Born James Langstaffer in 1941 in a factory worker and his wife, he was, by his own admission, not all place in the rough Toronto working-class neighborhood in which he grew up. He learned to take refuge in fantasy, as a child that led to his first acting experience in high-school plays and summer-stock productions. When he was 16, he left high school in Grade 11 and eventually ended up at Montreal's National Theatre School in 1960. Since graduating, he has played leading roles in every major theatre in the country with the exception of the Stratford Festival. He has also worked frequently in film and television. But in the space of sixty years, his greatest triumph—the one that revealed him as a com-

actor of genius—was in the title character in the Shaw Festival's 1980 production of *Cyrano de Bergerac*, which he last performed in 1985. As the unlikely lover with the big nose, Lamberts comically left his audience in tears.

The role of Jourdain cannot approach the emotional richness of *Cyrano*. It is essentially a clown's part—but one that Lamberts plays to perfection. He first appears in an outrageously gaudy dressing gown, about flipping pants he keeps madly reeling in as he tries to stifle a fit of dignity. Deeply however is something that forever eludes Jourdain. While, listening to his own private sagas—he has his friends simply because he has heard that nobles always have such entertainment—he falls asleep in his chair. Lamberts exaggerates the moment by sliding gradually to the floor with the speed of a falling stone. It is an old comic trick, but he brings the house down with it.

Unfortunately, the production runs badly in the hands of the other actors. The actual content of *The Bourgeois Gentleman* is so slight that only brilliant performances can make it work. But except for Jon Meior's screaming servant Gervais and Maurice Gélard's Doctor Mascar, a vacuum seems to dominate the stage whenever Lamberts is off it.

The only other exception to the general rule is Denise Fafard. The company's winning performance of the Turkish doctor—accompanied by Jean-Baptiste Lully's original baroque score—makes a symphonic climax to *The Bourgeois Gentleman*. The tragic/courtly—and the energetic/energy of Lamberts' clowning—lets much of Molière's resilience shine through.

JOHN REMERISE

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Call's Eye, Atwood* (1)
- 2 *The Love of Ephraim, Smith* (3)
- 3 *The Edge, Friesen* (2)
- 4 *Sands of Time, Shulman*
- 5 *The Secret Agenda, Laskin* (2)
- 6 *The Queen of the Diamond, Ritz* (3)
- 7 *The Cardinal of the Kremlin, Clancy* (17)
- 8 *Alma, Maclean* (4)
- 9 *Splash, Dymally*
- 10 *Mr. Mort Agnes, Rennie* (7)

NONFICTION

- 1 *The Arctic Grail, Rennie* (1)
- 2 *A Brief History of Time, Hawking* (2)
- 3 *Conquest, Friesen* (2)
- 4 *Protein in Time, Rennie and Gager* (2)
- 5 *The Great Bear, Ritz and Stewart* (3)
- 6 *No Time to Spare, Gellert, Webb* (7)
- 7 *Sparks of Power, Shulman* (3)
- 8 *Escape of Hope, Shulman* (2)
- 9 *The Last Line, Winston Spencer Churchill* (1)
- 10 *The Lives of John Lennon, Griffiths* (3)
- 11 *Protein, Rennie*

Compiled by Denise McInerney



Risky predictions and insights

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Zoom. Dr. Foll, nice to run into you on the street!

Elaborate precisely the specialties of the young sciences in your common interests. Will you, I thought John Turner did pretty well on the election and here I read that they're getting the answer out for him again.

What was his? Did he lose a part of his loquacity last fall?

But didn't he double the Liberal assets from 40 something up to 80 something?

One must recall who took them down to 40 something in the first place.

So I guess it's from Christmas on the election tomorrow?

No Christmas is yesterday's news. Turner will hang on for a year or so before calling a leadership convention. That will be in the 1990s, and Christmas will be treated as a figure from the 1940s. We must look ahead, not back.

What about Paul Martin? Does he want it?

Are you kidding? Why do you think he polished his glasses and took to contact lenses. Looks better on television.

But is he any good?

He is a very shrewd fellow. He has a lot of support in the Third World and his contemplative gait to work them. He will find the only target of the Third World in the Canadian in that it is littering with garbage.

What about Lloyd Axworthy?

No man! Think McMeekin. Yes, he wants it, and the election of the Liberals in Manitoba helps Sharon Carstairs is soon to become the Liberal premier, and so on he will have a lot of power here, which he lacked. What's got it through Tim Pongras.

Well, I guess that leaves David Peterson. Tell me about him.

Most natural politician in a crowd I've ever seen. He is young, he is handsome, he is handsome, but a beautiful young wife.

Sounds like a cock in me.

No. No provincial premier has made it to 24 Sussex Drive in this century. Ask Dad Robins. Ask Bob Stenfield. Ask George Drew.

What does George Drew say?

He's dead. Otherwise, he'd say Tim right.



You're not being very helpful. Why do you say Turner will hang in for a year or more?

After his astonishing campaign, there isn't exactly a welcome sign on Bay Street out for him. Especially after Senator Michael Kirby turned his back on him in the Van Kien. That one is going to be hard to forget.

But I always thought Turner was a bit of a no. He's always lived on his salary. He needs some time to figure out a way back to general employment. The reason all those disreputables were available before was because he was a private investigator or something. Who wants a director who was in for 10 days?

This month great. Let's go on to some cheerful news. What will be Bruce Maloney's first decision make as the only Tory PM in this century to win two majority governments?

Send Brian Mulroney to Boston. The central general's house to be made a golf course.

Do you think this century will see a

humble experience for Maloney, forcing him into thoughts about his personality?

Mia has already spent her yearly allowance on humble gifts that she buys from a guru in Arizona. The family is now thinking of reducing her laptop operation over the holidays. The only year will be on his ego.

Is it really true that 57 percent of Canadians cut their budgets against free trade?

Actually, they cut their budgets against Maloney's free Franklin dresses. Make him look like the carrier of an antique gallery. Mia's going to have another talk with him.

But really, what was the last thing about this election?

The absolute best thing about this election is that Simon Rousseau will never be allowed on Canadian television again.

Why do you specify Canadian television?

He has been offered a spot as a regular on the Grande River show.

Doing what?

Working. Selling. Giving. A search made in brown.

Got answer. What's with Koble Knosdorp?

He'll be gone, in reasonable time, especially as he grows tired of being upstaged by the radioactive act known as Dave Rosten on the front benches.

And I think he is out, for now?

Rob White, the workmen's guy, wants it. But the party would rather have Ray Robinson, the Ukrainian Robert Redford from Saskatchewan. Which would seem more natural.

Since the NDP is now heavily tilted toward Western Canada, with more than half their new from British Columbia.

So what's the problem?

Rosenstein can't decide whether he would like to be the leader of a national party or stick in third place, or the most powerful of Saskatchewan, with all the high profile that would give him. Such are the prices of love.

Is Rousseau an attraction guy?

Listen. His clothing budget last month topped that of Mia.

Does Mia spend a lot of money on clothes?

Listen. She had his credit card stolen since she was 18. He didn't even report it. When someone in his office asked him why not, he said he figured out that the thief was spending less than Mia did.

Come on. We're talking about politics here.

Who used shopping was last?

So after their attracting, dressing, un-judging, will the Commons be a more mature, reflective tier?

Not unless Steve Gopp develops leprosy.

Get Dr. Foll out of it. You're seriously hampering the middle-class.

No, please.

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